~~Gal 1.9.d~~

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earlieſt Accounts till the

Diviſion of the Macedonian Empire in the Eaſt.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL. D. F. A. S.

Εκ μεν τοιυτε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραβασεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

VOL. I.

BASIL:

Printed for J. J. TOURNEISEN; and J. L. LEGRAND.

MDCCXC.

K

8

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE History of Greece exposes the dangerous turbulence of Democracy, and arraigns the despotism of Tyrants. By describing the incurable evils inherent in every form of Republican policy, it evinces the inestimable benefits, resulting to Liberty itself, from the lawful dominion of hereditary Kings, and the steady operation of well-regulated Monarchy. With singular propriety, therefore, the present Work may be respectfully offered to Your MAJESTY, as Sovereign of the freest nation upon earth; and *that* Sovereign, through whose discerning

munificence, the intereſt of thoſe liberal arts, which diſtinguished and ennobled Greece beyond all other countries of antiquity, has been more ſucceſsfully promoted in Your MAJESTY'S dominions, than during any former period in the British annals. That Your MAJESTY may long reign the illuſtrious Guardian of public freedom, and the unrivalled Patron of uſeful learning, is the fervent prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY's

Moſt dutiful Subject and Servant.

LONDON,
Feb. 10, 1786.

JOHN GILLIES.

PREFACE.

THE following Hiſtory commences with the infancy of Greece, and deſcribes its gradual advancement towards civilization and power. But the main deſign of my Work is confined to the ſpace of ſeven centuries, which elapſed from the ſettlement of the Ionians in Aſia Minor till the eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt; during which memorable period, the arts and arms of the Greeks, conſpiring to excite the admiration and terror of the ancient world, juſtly merit the attentive ſtudy of the preſent age, and poſterity. In the general revolutions of their national confederacy, which, though always looſe and imperfect, was never altogether diſſolved, I have interwoven the deſcription and principal tranſactions of each independent republic, however ſmall or inconſiderable; and, by comparing authors ſeldom read, and not frequently conſulted for hiſtorical materials, have endeavoured to trace the intricate ſeries, and to explain the ſecret connexion, of ſeemingly detached events, in order to reduce the ſcattered members of Grecian ſtory into one perpetual unbroken narrative; a deſign,

difficult indeed, and new, yet evidently well calculated to promote the great purpoſes of pleaſure and utility.

In the view which I have taken of my ſubject, the fluctuation of public affairs, and the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, appear ſcarcely the moſt ſplendid, and ſurely not the moſt intereſting, portion of Grecian hiſtory. By genius and fancy, not leſs than by patriotiſm and proweſs, the Greeks are honorably diſtinguiſhed among the nations of the earth. By the Greeks, and by them alone, Literature, Philoſophy, and the Fine Arts, were treated as important concerns of ſtate, and employed as powerful engines of policy. From their literary glory, not only their civil, but even their military tranſactions, derive their chief importance and dignity. To complete, therefore, my preſent undertaking, it ſeemed neceſſary to unite the hiſtory of arts with that of empire, and to combine with the external revolutions of war and government, the intellectual improvements of men, and the ever-varying picture of human opinions and manners.

In the execution of this extenſive plan, might I aſſume any merit to myſelf, it would be that of having diligently ſtudied the Greek writers, without adopting their prejudices, or copying their narratives with ſervility. Many events, highly intereſting to the citizens of Athens or of Sparta, now intereſt no more; concerning many important tranſactions, anciently too familiar to be explained, the Modern Reader will reaſonably

expect information. On ſome occaſions, therefore, I found it neceſſary to concentrate and abridge; on others, to dilate and expatiate; but have never ſacrificed that due relation of parts to the whole, and to each other, or violated that unity of deſign which I was ambitious to attain in the preſent Hiſtory, by condeſcending to copy or tranſlate. In the Work throughout, I have ventured to think for myſelf; and my opinions, whether well or ill founded, are, at leaſt, my own.

The preſent Hiſtory was undertaken, and a conſiderable part of it written, many years ago; by the advice of ſome perſons of taſte and learning, who, having read my hiſtorical Introduction to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, wiſhed to ſee the whole ſeries of Grecian ſtory treated on the ſame plan. My ſituation, and my leiſure, enabled me to meet their wiſh; but before my manuſcript was prepared for the Preſs, my ſtudies were interrupted by the only employment, not enjoined by ſome poſitive duty, which I ſhould have *allowed* (ſuch are the ſanguine hopes of authors!) to ſuſpend my literary labors. During that long interval, different portions of Grecian hiſtory have been ably treated in Engliſh, as well as in * foreign

* Among the foreign works, I diſtinguish with pleaſure thoſe of Mr. Meiners of Gottingen. To the author of this Hiſtory it would be very flattering to find the opinions which he hazarded in his introduction to Lyſias, confirmed in a ſubſequent work of ſuch an admired ſcholar as Mr. Meiners (ſee his Geſchichte des Luxus der Athenienſer, Lemgo 1782), were it not extremely natural that

languages. Yet, as moſt of thoſe works ſtill remain incomplete, and as none of them embrace the whole extent of my ſubject, or at all preoccupy my plan, I venture to offer the preſent Hiſtory, deeply ſenſible as I am of its imperfections, to the indulgence of the Public.

writers, who draw from the ſame ſources, ſhould advance the ſame facts, and deduce ſimilar concluſions. In the following Hiſtory, my views of the *Pythagorean band*, and of the *Platonic philoſophy*, though ſufficiently remote from vulgar opinion, nearly coincide with thoſe of Mr. Meiners in his Geſchichte des Urſprunges, Fortgangs, and Verfalls der Wiſſenchafften in Griechenland; that is, "the Hiſtory of the Origin, Progreſs, and Decay of Philoſophy in Greece:" a work not yet completed, but which, as far as it extends, I will venture to recommend as one of the moſt valuable and accurate treaſuries of Greek learning contained in any modern tongue.

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progreſs of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War. — Hiſtory of that War. — Its Conſequences. Page 1

CHAP. II.

Religion.—Government.—Arts—Manners, and Character. 49

CHAP. III.

Diſtracted State of Greece. — The Heracleidæ conduct the Dorians into Peloponneſus. — Divide their Conqueſts in that Peninſula. — The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations. — Eſtabliſhment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia. — Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Aſia on the Affairs of the Mother Country. — The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece. — New Diſorders in that Country. — Four inſtitutions

which tended to remove them. — The Amphictyonic Council. — The Oracle of Delphi. — The Olympic Games. — The Spartan Laws. Page 91

CHAP. IV.

State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty. — Deſcription of Laconia and Meſſenia. — Cauſes of the War between thoſe States. — Invaſion of Meſſenia. — Diſtreſs of the Meſſenians. — The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it. — They obtain Aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia. — Their Capital taken by the Spartans. — Iſſue of the firſt Meſſenian War. — State of Greece. — The Colony of Tarentum founded. — The ſecond Meſſenian War. — Character and Exploits of Ariſtomenes. — The Diſtreſs of the Spartans. — They obtain Aſſiſtance from Athens. — The Poet Tyrtæus. — Subjugation of Meſſenia. — Future Fortunes of its Citizens. — Their Eſtabliſhment in Sicily. 153

CHAP. V.

State of the Peloponneſus after the Conqueſt of Meſſenia. — Of the Northern Republics of Greece. — Of the Grecian Colonies. — Revolutions in Government. — Military Tranſactions. — The firſt ſacred War. — Deſtruction of the Criſſean Republic. — Reſtoration of the Pythian Games. — Deſcription of the Gymnaſtic and Equeſtrian Exerciſes. — Hiſtory of Grecian Muſic. 207

CHAP. VI.

The Grecian Bards. — Heroic Poetry. — Change of Manners. — Iambic or Satire. — Elegy. — Tyrtæus, Callinus, Mimnermus — Life of Archilochus. — Terpander. — Lyric Poetry. — The Nine Lyric Poets. — Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar. — Effects of the Sacred Games. — Strength. — Courage. — Contempt of Prejudices. — Taste. — Moral Principle. — Intellectual Powers. — Genius. Page 248

CHAP. VII.

State of the Grecian Colonies. — The Ionians flourish in Arts and Arms. — Their Wars with the Lydians. — The Asiatic Greeks subdued by Crœsus. — Splendor of the Lydian Court. — Foundation of the Persian Monarchy. — Causes of its rapid Grandeur — Which alarms Crœsus. — His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians. — He invades the Persian Dominions. — Measures of his Allies. — Crœsus defeated by Cyrus. — End of the Lydian Monarchy. 289

CHAP. VIII.

Cyrus threatens the Asiatic Colonies. — Their Measures. — The Spartans remonstrate against his Design — Conquests of Harpagus. — Migrations of the vanquished Greeks. — Cyrus takes Babylon. — Cambyses subdues Egypt. — Receives Tribute from the African Greeks. — Reign

of Darius. — Final Settlement of the Persian Empire. — Degeneracy of Manners. — Revolt of Ionia. — State of Greece. — The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians — who burn Sardis. — The Asiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land. — Their Condition under the Persian Government. Page 331

THE

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progress of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War. — History of that War. — Its Consequences.

CHAP. I. Introduction.

IN the infancy of society, men are occupied with the business of the present hour, forgetful of the past, and careless of the future. They possess neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public transactions in the impartial light of history, far less to treasure and to record them. Their recent victories over hostile tribes are celebrated in the artless song [a], or commemorated by the rude monument; but to preserve any regular series of connected events, is a design, which they enjoy not the means to execute, scarcely the capacity to comprehend.

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 43.

CHAP. I.

Their ſimple and obſcure adventures, which thus paſs unremembered by themſelves, rarely excite the inquiſitive curioſity of their more cultivated neighbours In remote ages of the world, one people became an object of attention to another, only as they became conſiderable; for until the full maturity of Grecian refinement, the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity attempted not to inveſtigate the nature and powers of man in the untutored efforts of ſavage life. The daring ſpirit, and fierce incurſions, of the Barbarians in the eaſt of Europe, excited terror and conſternation among the more civilized and more effeminate inhabitants of Leſſer Aſia [a]; but the luxurious pride of the latter never condeſcended to examine the origin and hiſtory of the people who were occaſionally the object of their fears. The only circumſtantial information concerning both the Aſiatics and the Europeans, muſt be derived from the early hiſtorians of Greece; and when we reflect on the innumerable cauſes which conſpire to bury in oblivion the exploits of riſing communities, there is reaſon to wonder that we ſhould know ſo much concerning the ancient ſtate of that country, rather than to regret that our knowledge is imperfect.

It muſt be allowed, however, that our materials for the firſt portion of Grecian hiſtory, are rather

[a] The Lydians, Phrygians, etc. Hiſtory and Fable atteſt the early civilization, the wealth, and wickedneſs, of thoſe nations. See particularly Herodotus, l. i. c. 93. et ſeq. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 532, et ſeq, and l. xii. & xiii. p. 572.

copious than conſiſtent [3]. The ſubject, indeed, is ſuch, as a very cautious writer would chuſe entirely to avoid, ſince, whatever authorities he fol- CHAP. 1.

[3] It is ſufficient to read Thucydides's introduction to his admired hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, to perceive how little correct information could be obtained by that diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country. If we admit the common chronology, there is reaſon to believe that the ſcattered fragments of Grecian hiſtory were preſerved during thirteen centuries by oral tradition. The tales or rhapſodies of the ἀοιδοὶ, or bards, were ſucceeded by thoſe of the Cyclic poets, of whom an account is given in Caſaubon ad Athenæum, l. vii. c. 4. Salmaſ. in Solin. et Schwarzius Altdorf in Diſſ. de Poetis Cyclicis. Compoſition in proſe began with the uſe of alphabetic writing about ſix centuries before Chriſt. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 29. The firſt proſe writers, or more properly the firſt *writers*, were, Pherecydes of Syros; Acuſilaus of Argos; Hellanicus of Lesbos; Hecatæus and Dionyſius, both of Miletus; the laſt of whom flouriſhed in the 65th Olymp. 520. B. C. and immediately preceded Herodotus. From the work of Herodotus, which forms, as it were, the ſhade between Epic Poetry and Hiſtory, we may judge of the writings of his predeceſſors; from whom, together with the Cyclic poets, Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, compiled the firſt books of their very extenſive but inaccurate collections. Apollodorus, Hyginus (and many others, whoſe works are now loſt), combined the more ancient records, whether in proſe or verſe, with the additions and embelliſhments of the lyric and tragic poets. When the Greek learning became known to the Romans, this compound of hiſtory and fable furniſhed the ſubject and the incidents of innumerable tragedies to Ennius, Accius, Livius Andronicus, etc. After the downfal of Rome, learning took refuge in the eaſtern world. The antiquities and early hiſtory of Greece again became objects of ſtudy among the natives of that country; but the heterogeneous maſs of truth and fiction was rather amalgamated, than purified, by Malala, Cedrenus, Tzetza, Conſtantinus Manaſſes, and other Greeks of the middle ages. See Heine, not. ad Æneid. II. and Voſſius de Hiſtoric. Græcis. With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careleſs in matters of chronology. Herodotus, who has been emphatically ſtyled the father of profane hiſtory,

CHAP. I. lows, his narrative muſt, in ſome parts, be liable to objection *. Yet it ſeems eſſential to the integrity of the preſent work, to explain from what aſſemblage of nations the Greeks were formed, and by what fortunate ſteps they arrived, from feeble beginnings, to that condition of manners and ſociety in which they are deſcribed by Homer; whoſe immortal poems, like a meteor in the gloom of night, brighten the obſcure antiquities of his country.

First inhabitants of Greece

The traditions of the Greeks agree with the authentic records of ſacred hiſtory, in repreſenting the countries afterwards known by the names of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, as peopled at an earlier period than any other portion of the weſtern world. The ſouthern corner of Europe, comprehended between the thirty-ſixth and forty-firſt

commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon, where the time of each event is preciſely aſcertained, comprehend no more than a period of ſeventy years. Even in their time, chronology ſeems not to have been cultivated as a ſcience, ſince the firſt ſpecimen of that kind is ſaid to have been given by Demetrius Phalereus in his αρχοντων αναγραφη, about the middle of the fourth century before Chriſt. The labors of Demetrius were corrected and extended by Philochorus in his Ατθις. The hiſtorian Timæus, who flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, firſt arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads, which began 776. B. C. His contemporary Soſibius gave a work, entitled χρονων αναγραφη; Apollodorus wrote the συνταξις χρονικη; and on ſuch chronologers reſts the credit of all later compilers, as well as of the Arundelian marbles, which were compoſed only 264 years before Chriſt.

* What Strabo (l. ix.) ſays of the firſt hiſtorians of Attica, "that they differed widely from each other (πολλα διαφωνουντες)," may be applied to all profane hiſtories of thoſe early times.

CHAP. I.

degrees of latitude, bordering on Epirus and Macedonia towards the north, and on other ſides ſurrounded by the ſea, was inhabited, above eighteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra, by many ſmall tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, among whom the Pelaſgi and Hellenes were the moſt numerous and powerful [5]. The barbarous Pelaſgi venerated Inachus, as their founder; and for a ſimilar reaſon the more humane Hellenes reſpected Deucalion. From his ſon Hellen, they derived their general appellation, which originally denoted a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly [6]; and from Dorus, Eolus, and Ion [7], his more remote deſcendants, they were diſcriminated by the names of Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians [8]. The Dorians took poſſeſſion of that mountainous diſtrict of Greece, afterwards called Doris; the Ionians, whoſe name was in ſome meaſure loſt in the illuſtrious appellation of Athenians, ſettled in the leſs barren parts of Attica; and the Eolians peopled Elis and Arcadia, the weſtern and inland regions of the Peloponneſus [9]. Notwithſtanding many partial migrations, theſe three original diviſions of the Hellenes generally entertained an affection for the eſtabliſhments which had been preferred by the wiſdom or caprice of their reſpective anceſtors; a circumſtance which remarkably diſtinguiſhed the *Hellenic*, from the *Pelaſgic*

The Pelaſgi and Hellenes.

The latter divided into Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians.

[5] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 6. Apollodor. Biblioth. l. ii.
[6] Thucydid. l. i. c. 28. [7] Strabo, l. viii. p. 383.
[8] Herodot. l. i. c. 56. and l. vii. c. 94.
[9] Diodor. Siculus, l. v.
[10] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

CHAP. I.

race. While the former diſcovered a degree of attachment to their native land, ſeldom found in barbarians, who live by hunting or paſturage, the latter diſdaining fixed habitations, wandered in large bodies over Greece, or tranſported themſelves into the neighbouring iſlands; and the moſt conſiderable portion of them gradually removing to the coaſts of Italy and Thrace, the remainder melted away into the Doric and Ionic tribes. At the diſtance of twelve centuries, obſcure traces of the Pelaſgi occurred in ſeveral Grecian cities; a diſtrict of Theſſaly always retained their name; their colonies continued, in the fifth century before Chriſt, to inhabit the ſouthern coaſt of Italy, and the ſhores of the Helleſpont: and in thoſe widely ſeparated countries, their ancient affinity was recogniſed in the uniformity of their rude dialect and barbarous manners, extremely diſſimilar to the cuſtoms and language of their Grecian neighbours [11].

Colonies from Egypt and the Eaſt.

Greece, when delivered from the turbulence of a rugged race of men, who never attained much conſideration, either in the territories where they originally dwelt, or in thoſe to which they afterwards removed, was not left to be ſlowly civilized by the progreſſive ingenuity of the Hellenic tribes. The happy poſition of a country, which, forming as it were the frontier of Europe with Aſia, is divided only by a narrow extent of ſea from Egypt and Syria, and ſituate within reach of thoſe

[11] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i. Pauſan. l. viii.

parts of the Eaſt which were anciently moſt flouriſhing and populous, naturally invited the viſits of travellers, and attracted the eſtabliſhment of colonies. Theſe tranſient viſits, or temporary ſettlements, were marked by many ſignal benefits, the memory of which was long preſerved by the gratitude of Greece, and their merit probably exaggerated by her fondneſs for panegyric. Even thoſe Grecian communities, which juſtly claimed the honor of ſuperior antiquity, acknowledged themſelves indebted to ſtrangers for the moſt important diſcoveries, not only in religion, but in agriculture and the arts; and contented themſelves with the glory of having diffuſed a borrowed light over the melancholy gloom of ignorance which overſpread their neighbours [12]. But national vanity at length produced a material change in the tradition. When the refined deſcendants of the rude Greeks viewed with complacency their own ſuperiority in arts and arms to all the nations around them, they began to ſuſpect that the Gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people, who eminently excelled the reſt of mankind. To the Gods they transferred the merit of the many uſeful inventions communicated by the generous humanity of their ancient viſitants; an oſtentatious fiction colored by a faint ſemblance of truth, ſince the worſhip of ſeveral divinities was introduced at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons [13],

[12] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

[13] The Tytans, Idæi, Dactyli, Triptolemus, &c. Compare Diodor. Sicul. l. v. and Iſocrat. Panegyr.

CHAP. I.

who made known the arts moſt ſubſervient to the purpoſes of human life [14].

New colonies from the ſame countries.

While fable thus diſguiſed the benefits conferred by the firſt tranſitory voyages into Greece, hiſtory preſerved the memory of four ſucceſſive eſtabliſhments erected there by foreigners. From the middle of the ſixteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, an inundation of Egyptians, Phenicians, and Phrygians overflowed the Hellenic coaſts. The cauſes aſſigned for theſe emigrations are extremely conſonant to the manners of remote antiquity, as deſcribed by ſacred and profane authors: hatred of a rival, impatience of a ſuperior, in one inſtance the perſecution of a brother and an enemy, and, in general, that uneaſy reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, which univerſally prevails among men, who have become ſenſible of their own powers, without having ſufficiently learned to direct them to the happy purſuits of arts and induſtry [15]. The principal colonies were conducted by Cecrops [16], and Danaus, Egyptians, who reſpectively ſettled in Athens and Argos; Cadmus [17], a Phenician, who founded Thebes in Bœotia, and Pelops, a Phrygian [18], whoſe deſcendants, intermarrying with thoſe of Danaus, king of Argos, and Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta, acquired, in the perſon of

A. C. 1556. 1485. 1493. 1350.

[14] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Iſocrat. Panegyr.
[15] Iſocrat. Hellen. ſub initio. Pind. Olymp. x.
[16] Strabo, l. ix. and Plut. in Theſeo.
[17] Strabo, ibid. and Iſocrat. Hellen.
[18] Iſocrat. Panathen. Thucydid. l. i. Diodor, l. iv.

Agamemnon, ſo powerful an aſcendant in the Peloponneſus [19]. The family of Deucalion ſtill reigned in Theſſaly; but Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which in all ages were regarded as the principal cities of Greece, thus fell under the dominion of four foreign lines of princes, whoſe exploits, and glory, and misfortunes, are immortalized by the firſt and nobleſt productions of Grecian genius [20].

Improvements introduced by theſe colonies into Greece.

The countries, which theſe adventurers abandoned, had not, according to modern ideas, attained a very high degree of maturity in laws and government. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the natives of Egypt and the Eaſt were acquainted with many improvements unknown to the Hellenic tribes. Conjectures are not to be placed in the rank of facts; yet, in matters ſo ancient and obſcure, we may be allowed to conjecture from the only facts on record, that the invaders of Greece introduced into that country the knowledge of the Phenician alphabet; improved the practice of agriculture; multiplied the rites of religion; diſcovered to the Greeks ſeveral uſes of the metals; but, on the other hand, gradually adopted, in their turn,

[19] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. iv. Iſocrat. Panathen.

[20] The works of Homer and Pindar, and the writings of the Greek tragedians. In theſe, and ſcarcely any where elſe, the ſtories of Cadmus, Semele, Bacchus, Amphitryon, Hercules, Oedipus etc. may be read with pleaſure and advantage; for as Strabo, l. ix. ſays, "All "there is monſtrous and tragic land."

CHAP. I.

the Grecian language, and generally conformed to the Grecian cuſtoms and inſtitutions [21].

The Phenician alphabet.

The introduction of the Phenician alphabet was an improvement too delicate and refined to be immediately attended with any important conſequences. The groſs underſtandings of the Hellenes could not eaſily comprehend the utility of ſuch an ingenious invention. The knowledge of it was acquired and preſerved by a few individuals [22] of more enlightened minds: but the far greater part of the nation long contented themſelves with the ancient mode of picture-writing, which, however limited in its application, ſeemed ſufficient to expreſs the ſimplicity of their rude ideas.

Several uſes of the metals.

The Phenicians were well acquainted with the precious metals as the medium of exchange. But the uniform tranſactions of the Greeks, as yet required not any ſuch nicety of refinement. Even during the Trojan war, cattle, being the com-

[21] Compare Herodotus, l. v. c. 59. l. vii. paſſim. Montfaucon, Palæograph. Græc. l. ii. Plin. l. v. c. 56 & 57. Hyginus, Fab. 274. and Ephorus apud Diodor. l. v.

[22] Herodotus mentions three inſcriptions on three tripods, conſecrated in the temple of Iſmenian Apollo. The firſt, of Amphitryon; the ſecond, of the ſon of Hippocoon; the third, of Laodamus the ſon of Eteocles. The inſcriptions on the ſhields of the heroes who beſieged the capital of Eteocles, are noticed by Æſchylus, in his tragedy entitled, "The Seven againſt Thebes." Yet we know from Homer, Iliad vi. that when Prœtus ſent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia, he gave him, not a written letter, but σηματα λυγρα, mournful ſigns. Writing could not be common till many centuries afterwards, ſince the firſt written laws were given in Greece only ſix centuries before Chriſt. Herodot. l. ii. Strabo, l. vi.

modity of moſt general demand, was univerſally regarded as the moſt convenient meaſure of value[23]. It is not eaſy to determine whether gold or iron be more advantageous to man, the one by exciting his induſtry, the other by ſeconding that induſtry in all the variety of uſeful arts. The diſcovery of iron in Greece afforded the neceſſary implements of agriculture, the gradual extenſion of which alike improved the ſterility of the ſoil, and the rudeneſs of the inhabitants. Before the arrival of Egyptian colonies, the cultivation of the ground might occaſionally employ the divided induſtry of ſcattered families; but this valuable art was not conſidered

Extenſion of agriculture.

[23] In a well-known paſſage, Homer after mentioning other articles, with which the Greeks purchaſed wine, adds, αυτοισι βοεσσι, "with "oxen themſelves." Some ſcholiaſts and commentators have imagined, that the βους of Homer was a coin ſtamped with the figure of an ox, ſaid to have been introduced by Theſeus. Vid. Plut. in Theſeo. But were it allowed, which is very improbable, that Theſeus had a mint, it would ſtill be improbable that Homer meant ſuch a coin; for in the epiſode of Glaucus and Diomed, he ſays, that the former gave his golden armour, worth an hundred oxen, for the brazen armour of the latter, worth only nine. Now we know from Pollux Onomaſt. l. xi. c. 7. that the coin βους, at whatſoever time it was introduced, continued to be valued at two drachmas. Diomed's arms therefore, upon the ſuppoſition of the ſcholiaſts, muſt have been worth about nine ſhillings; and Glaucus's, which were of maſſy gold, worth only nine pounds. Talents of gold are often mentioned by Homer. They were propoſed as prizes to combatants, and offered as dedications in temples, but too valuable to ſerve as current ſpecie. Homer and Herodot. paſſim. Νομισμα, money, is derived from νομος, law, becauſe, as Ariſtotle ſays, η φυσει, αλλα νομω, ισι, "the origin of money is "not natural, but conventional and arbitrary." But in Homer's time, the word νομος was uſed in a quite different ſenſe: νομισμα muſt therefore have been derived from it at a later period. Com. Iliad. l. xx. v. 249. and Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. l. v. c. 5.

CHAP. I.

as an object of general concern. Cecrops firſt engaged the wandering hunters or ſhepherds of Attica to unite in villages of huſbandmen. Corn, wine, and oil, rewarded their uſeful labors [24]; and theſe productions being acquired by common toil, were regarded, with the ground itſelf, as a common property [25].

Religious rites.

The idea of an excluſive and permanent right to all the uſes of a piece of land, whether belonging to communities or to individuals, is one of the moſt important ſteps in the progreſs of ſociety. In Greece, this invaluable right was immediately followed by ſuch inſtitutions as tended to ſecure its enjoyment, and to check the injuſtice of man, who is ſeldom willing to acquire, by ſlow labor, what he can raviſh by ſudden violence. The ſalutary influence of religion was employed on this neceſſary occaſion. We are told by ſeveral writers, that the practice of agriculture, and the rites of religion, were introduced at the ſame time [26]. But the ſame authors inform us, that their pretended founders of religious worſhip aboliſhed the uſe of living ſacrifices [27]; a cuſtom, which evidently ſuppoſes the prior eſtabliſhment of an ancient and more bloody

[24] Pauſan. l. iii. Æſchyl. Eumen.

[25] The τεμενος, or *cut* of ground ſo often mentioned in Homer, as beſtowed by general conſent on admired kings and chiefs, might have ſuggeſted this obſervation, which ſeems to have eſcaped notice, though attended, as we ſhall find, with very important conſequences.

[26] Diodor. Pauſan. Apollod.

[27] Θεμις καρποις αγαλλειν, ζωα μη σιτεσθαι. Porph. de Abſtinent.

ſuperſtition. Yet in this humane prohibition, we may perhaps diſcern a laudable attempt to correct the barbarity of the Greeks, and to raiſe the new profeſſion of agriculture above the ancient employment of hunting.

The Hellenes diffuſe their colonies and language over Greece;

Before and during the time that the Hellenic tribes received continual acceſſions of population from diſtant countries, they were no leſs diligent in ſending forth their own colonies. As they originally ſubſiſted by hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage, a large extent of territory was requiſite to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They were not afflicted by the oppreſſive terrors of deſpotiſm; they were long unacquainted with the gentle, but powerful, operation of regular government; and without being ſubject to the one or the other, it is ſcarcely poſſible for men to live together in large ſocieties. When any of their communities ſeemed inconveniently numerous, they divided it into ſeveral portions, of which the principal kept poſſeſſion of their original ſeats, while the others occupied and peopled the ſurrounding territories. It was thus that the Eolians diſperſed through many parts of the Peloponneſus; the unfortunate Siſyphus[28], who founded the city of Corinth, being a deſcendant of Eolus, and the anceſtors of the wiſe Neſtor, who reigned in ſandy Pylos, being ſprung from the ſame Eolic race[29]. A conſiderable diviſion of the Ionians ſettled along the ſouthern ſhores of the Corinthian gulph, in the province which,

[28] Και Σισυφον εισιδειν κρατερα αλγια εχοντα, Homer Odyſſ.

[29] Pauſan. in Corinth. et Meſſen.

CHAP. I.

eighty years after the Trojan war, changed the name of Ionia for that of Achaia [30]. The territory beyond the Corinthian iſthmus was parcelled out among innumerable ſubdiviſions of the Hellenic tribes [31]. When the continent of Greece ſeemed ſufficiently populous; the Athenians gave inhabitants to the iſle of Eubœa; and many centuries before the famous eſtabliſhments formed by the Greeks on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of Italy, and of Thrace, the Dorians had ſent a colony to Crete [32], and the Eolians, under the conduct of Dardanus, had planted the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont [33]. During the Trojan war, the inhabitants of thoſe various and widely ſeparated countries ſpoke the ſame language that was uſed among the Hellenes, and acknowledged the general influence of the ſame principles and manners. Unleſs it is ſuppoſed, therefore, that not only the Phrygians but the Phenicians and Egyptians, originally ſpoke the ſame Hellenic tongue, it ſeems reaſonable to conjecture that the colonies conducted by Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, gradually adopted the language of the aborigines of Greece [34].

[30] Strabo, l. vii. [31] Id. ib. Pauſan. et Diodor.

[32] Diodor. ibid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 496.

[33] Servius in Æneid, III.

[34] Herodotus, l. v. c. 58. ſays, that the colony of Cadmus changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Ionians, an Hellenic tribe. He ſays further, that together with their language, they changed the power of ſome of their letters. He acknowledges that the Cadmeians, or Phenicians, communicated to the Ionians the uſe of letters; but the Ionians, he ſays, adapted the Phenician alphabet to the ſounds of their

CHAP. I. together with their inſtitutions of government.

A ſingle reflection appears ſufficient to prove, that they likewiſe conformed to the Grecian inſtitutions of government. The inflexible rigor of deſpotiſm, which has in all ages prevailed in Egypt[35] and the Eaſt, was unknown to the conquerors of Troy. Since the abſolute power of kings was not acknowledged during a long period of war and danger, requiring the ſtricteſt military ſubordination; and ſince the Greeks preſerved their freedom, after the increaſing wealth of many centuries had a tendency to prepare them for ſervitude; it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that an Oriental ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſhould have prevailed in the more early ages of poverty and independence[36].

own language. The eaſtern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much diſputed whether the ancient Orientals uſed any characters to expreſs them. Their languages, therefore, had an inflexible thickneſs of ſound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumſtance denotes, in the Greeks, organs of perception more acute, elegant, and diſcerning. They felt ſuch faint variations of liquid ſounds, as eſcaped the dulneſs of Aſiatic ears, and invented marks to expreſs them. They diſtinguiſhed, in this manner, not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their muſical intonation, as ſhall be explained hereafter, in treating of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

[35] The government of the Egyptians as well as of the Aſiatics, is uniformly repreſented in ſcripture as an abſolute monarchy. Herodotus and Diodorus mention ſome laws of the Egyptians, which ſeem to circumſcribe the power of their kings. But theſe laws, if well examined, will confirm the obſervation in the text. They were eſtabliſhed, not in favor of the nation at large, but of the prieſts and ſoldiers. The throne of Egypt was ſupported by the altar, and defended by the ſword; and what deſpotiſm can be upheld but by the ſame means?

[36] See the principles eſtabliſhed by Tacitus de Mor. German.

CHAP. I.

Happy situation of Greece for commerce.

The Phenicians being conſidered as the principal navigators and merchants of the ancient world, it is commonly believed that the example of the Phenician colonies firſt taught the Greeks to brave the dangers of the ſea, and to maintain a commercial intercourſe with each other, as well as with foreign nations. But it is ſufficient to throw a glance on the geography of Greece, to perceive how naturally commerce, without foreign aid, might have ariſen ſpontaneouſly in that highly favored country. The continent, *itſelf* waſhed on three ſides by the ſea, is ſurrounded by innumerable iſlands, abounding in excellent harbours. The variety of ſoils and productions is greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the world, of an equal extent. All the ſhores of the Mediterranean, comprehending the moſt beautiful, and anciently the moſt flouriſhing part of the earth, are more acceſſible to Greece than to any neighbouring country. Yet it appears from the light of hiſtory, that the Greeks did not early avail themſelves of their fortunate ſituation, or of the ſuppoſed leſſons of their Phenician inſtructors.

Circumſtances which retarded the progreſs of ſociety in Greece.

Face of the country.

Many circumſtances conſpired to prolong the infancy of their nation, and to retard, during ſeveral centuries, their improvement in commerce, as well as in agriculture, and the other uſeful arts. The ſurface of Greece is more indented by creeks and rivers, and more roughened by mountains and promontories, than that of any other part of Europe. Theſe natural diviſions kept the different communities in a ſtate of ſeparation and hoſtility.

The

CHAP. I.

The ideas of their ancient conſanguinity and common origin were weakened or effaced by the recent confluence of foreigners. They could not travel beyond their own narrow diſtricts without being expoſed to the inſults of enemies. Theſe inſults excited reſentment; mutual injuries were offered and retorted; each city was at war with all its neighbours: thus did the *ſmallneſs* of the Grecian ſtates, a circumſtance which, during the happy ages that form the ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, tended to break the force of cuſtom and opinion, and to encourage that noble emulation ſo favorable to the progreſs of virtue and ſcience, produce, in leſs fortunate times, an effect of the moſt oppoſite nature, choke the ſeeds of order, and repreſs the feeble ſhoots of arts and humanity.

Smallneſs of the different ſtates.

The metals, originally deſtined to promote the peaceful labors of man, were converted into powerful inſtruments of deſtruction; and while the land was ravaged by the ſword, the ſea was covered with pirates. The Phenicians, the Carians, and the inhabitants of the Greek iſlands in general, conſidered navigation, not as the means of uniting nations by mutual intercourſe and commerce, but as a happy expedient for enabling the poor and the brave to plunder the rich territories of their leſs warlike neighbours. The coaſts of Greece, though in early times their bleak forbidding aſpect might have repelled the avarice of freebooters, yet on account of the proximity of their ſituation, and the valuable cargoes of hardy ſlaves in which they abounded, were continually infeſted

The coaſts ravaged by pirates.

CHAP. II.

by naval depredations. The unfortified places near the ſhore ſurrendered without reſiſtance; the fruits of their painful induſtry were plundered or deſtroyed, and the moſt valuable portion of their inhabitants dragged into captivity. The practice of piracy and invaſion was not a temporary reſource of war, prompted by neceſſity, or a juſt revenge; it grew into an ordinary profeſſion, which was ſo far from being deemed diſhonorable, that it conferred much glory and renown on thoſe who exerciſed it with ſkill and bravery [17].

The inland country invaded by ſavages.

During this diſordered ſtate of ſociety, the arts of peace were almoſt entirely neglected, and Greece was ready to be plunged into the groſſeſt barbariſm, by its domeſtic diſſenſions. The irruptions of the Thracians, Amazons, and other northern ſavages, threatened to accelerate this melancholy event, and to complete the ruin of the unhappy Hellenes [18]. But it may be obſerved in the affairs of human life, that any extraordinary meaſure of good or evil commonly leads men to dread, or to expect, a ſudden revolution, of fortune; a natural ſentiment which, though liable to be abuſed by credulity and ſuperſtition, is founded on the firm baſis of experience. The rudiments of the moſt uſeful deſigns are ſuggeſted always by

[17] Thucydid. l. i. ὃτι κοσμος κἀλως τοτο ἐφέρον. The explanation in the text ſeems more conſonant to Grecian manners, in thoſe ages, than that of the ſcholiaſt, which is translated by Mr. Rochford. "Chez qui la piraterie étoit exercée avec une certaine probité." M. de l'Acad. v. 39.

[18] Lyſias Orat. Funebr.

CHAP. I.

neceſſity, often by calamity. The inroads of the wild mountaineers of Thrace, and of other barbarians more remote, whoſe deſtructive cruelty may be underſtood by the unexampled ravages with which even the feebler ſex [39] carried on the ravages of war, occaſioned the firſt inſtitution which reſtored ſome degree of preſent tranquillity to Greece, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur.

Circumſtances which tended to civilize Greece.

The northern diſtricts of Theſſaly being peculiarly expoſed to the dangerous fury of invaders, the petty princes of that province entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence [40]. They aſſembled in ſpring and autumn at Thermopylæ, a place afterwards ſo illuſtrious, and then governed by *Amphictyon*, a deſcendant of Deucalion, whoſe name is immortalized in the *Amphictyonic* council.

Origin of the Amphyctionic council.

The advantages which the confederates derived from this meaſure, were ſoon perceived by their neighbours. The central ſtates gradually acceded to their alliance; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, Acriſius king of Argos, and other princes of the Peloponneſus, were allowed to ſhare the benefits and ſecurity of this uſeful aſſociation.

Argonautic expedition, A. C. 1263.

After this event, the Amphictyons appear to have long confined themſelves to the original

[39] The Amazons. See Lyſias Orat. Funeb. and Herodotus paſſim. Yet the exiſtence of theſe warlike females was doubted as early as the days of the emperor Hadrian, as we learn from Arrian: but what is ſaid by that judicious and manly hiſtorian, ſeems ſufficient to diſpel the doubt. See Arrian Expedit. Alexand. l. vii. p. 156.

[40] Marm. Oxon. E. 5.

CHAP. I.

purpoſe of their inſtitution. The ſtates, whoſe meaſures were directed by this aſſembly, found ſufficient occupation in defending their own territories; and near a century elapſed, before they undertook, by common conſent, any diſtant expedition. But it was not to be expected that their reſtleſs activity could be always exhauſted in defenſive war. The eſtabliſhment of the Amphictyons brought together the chiefs moſt diſtinguiſhed by birth and bravery. Glory and emulation prompted them to arms, and revenge directed thoſe arms againſt the barbarians. Jaſon, Admetus, and other chieftains of Theſſaly [41], having equipped a ſmall fleet in the neighbouring harbour of Iolcus, and particularly the ſhip Argo, of ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any before known, were animated with a deſire to viſit foreign lands, to plant colonies in thoſe parts of them that appeared moſt delightful, and to retort on their inhabitants the injuries which Greece had ſuffered from ſtrangers [42]. The princes of the north having proclaimed this ſpirited deſign over the central and ſouthern provinces, the ſtandard of enterpriſe and glory was ſpeedily ſurrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth [43], who eagerly embraced this honorable opportunity to ſignalize their manly valor. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, and, in general, the fathers of thoſe heroic chiefs, who, in the ſucceeding age, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed

[41] Their names are mentioned by Apollodorus, Diod. Siculus, Pindar, Apollonius, etc.

[42] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. [43] Pindar, Pythic. iv.

CHAP. I.

luſtre in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They were accompanied by the choſen warriors, and by the venerable prophets, of their reſpective tribes; by an Eſculapius, the admired father of the healing art, and by the divine Orpheus [44], whoſe ſublime genius was worthy to celebrate the amazing ſeries of their adventures.

Theſe adventures, however, have been too much adorned by the graces of poetry, to be the proper ſubjects of hiſtorical compoſition. The deſigns of the Argonauts are veiled under the allegorical, or at leaſt doubtful, phraſe, "of carrying "off the golden fleece;" which, though eaſily explained, if we admit the report that the inhabitants of the eaſtern banks of the Euxine extended fleeces of wool, in order to collect the golden particles which were carried down by the torrents from Mount Caucaſus [45], is yet deſcribed in ſuch various language by ancient writers, that almoſt every modern who examines the ſubject, thinks himſelf entitled to offer, by way of explanation, ſome new conjecture of his own. But in oppoſition to the moſt approved of theſe conjectures, we may venture to affirm, that the voyage to Colchis was not

[44] The teſtimony of Plato de Republ. l. x. of Iſocrates in Buſirid. ſufficiently atteſt the poetical fame of Orpheus. The Argonautica, and other works aſcribed to him, are collected by Eſchenbachius, and published at Nuremberg 1702. That theſe, however, are the productions of a much later age, appears from innumerable circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. i. p. 120.

[45] Strabo, l. xi. p. 499.

CHAP. I.

undertaken with a view to eſtabliſh extenſive plans of commerce [46], or to ſearch for mines of gold, far leſs to learn the imaginary art of converting other ſubſtances into that precious metal [47]; all ſuch motives ſuppoſing a degree of ſpeculation and refinement unknown in that age to the gallant but uninſtructed youth of Theſſaly. The real object of the expedition may be diſcovered by its conſequences. The Argonauts fought, conquered, and plundered [48]; they ſettled a colony on the ſhores of the Euxine [49]; and carried into Greece a daughter of the king of Colchis, the celebrated Medea [50], a princeſs of Egyptian extraction, whoſe crimes and enchantments are condemned to eternal infamy in the immortal lines of Euripides.

Important conſequences of the Argonautic expedition.

Notwithſtanding many romantic fictions that diſfigure the ſtory of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a conſiderable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may diſcover not only a more daring and more enlarged ſpirit of enterpriſe, but a more deciſive and rapid progreſs towards civilization and humanity. The ſullen and unſociable chiefs, whoſe acquaintance with each other moſt commonly aroſe from acts of mutual hoſtility, hitherto gave full ſcope to the ſanguinary paſſions which characterize barbarians [51]. Strength and

[46] Euſtach. in Homer.

[47] Suidas, Mémoires de l'Academ. v. 9. Exped. Argon.

[48] Diodor. ibid. [49] Xenoph. Anabaſ. [50] Euripid. Med.

[51] This was the brazen age deſcribed by Heſiod. Oper. et Di. l. i. p. 142—155. and by Plutarch in the life of Theſeus.

courage were almoſt the only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their reſpective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But theſe gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valor in a remote expedition, learned the neceſſity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public intereſt, if they pretended to deſerve the eſteem of their equals. Military courage and addreſs might alone procure them the reſpect of their immediate followers, ſince the ſafety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when ſeveral tribes had combined in a common enterpriſe, there was leſs dependence on the proweſs of any ſingle leader. Emulation and intereſt naturally rendered all theſe leaders as jealous of each other, as deſirous of the public applauſe; and, in order to acquire this applauſe, it was neceſſary to brighten the luſtre of martial ſpirit by the more valuable [52] virtues of juſtice and humanity.

CHAP. I.

Change of manners.

When this glorious field firſt opened to the ambition of the Greeks, they cultivated it with a degree of induſtry equally ardent and ſucceſsful. Innumerable were the exploits of Hercules, of

The heroic age.

[52] Heſiod marks this change of manners. It happened between the expedition of the Argonauts and the ſiege of Thebes, ſince the latter was the firſt exploit in which his new race of men, γενος δικαιοτερον και αρειον, were engaged. See Heſiod. Oper. et Di. l. 2. v. 155—165.

CHAP. I. Theſeus, and of the divine ſons of Leda [53], and undertaken with infinite toil and danger, to promote the intereſt and ſafety, not of their particular tribes, but of the general confederacy. The Grecian woods and mountains abounded in lions, boars, and other fierce animals [54], that often roamed from their haunts, and ſpread terror and deſolation through the adjoining vallies. The vallies themſelves teemed with men of brutal ſtrength and courage, who availed themſelves of the weakneſs of government to perpetrate horrid deeds of violence and cruelty. The firſt worthies of Greece, animated rather with the daring and uſeful, than with the romantic ſpirit of chivalry, ſet themſelves with one accord to remedy evils which threatened the exiſtence of ſociety. Their adventures have,

[53] "In order to obtain the immortal fruits of merit," ſays Ariſtotle, in his beautiful Ode to Virtue,

ὁ διος Ηρακλης,
Λιπας τε κυροι, πολλα ανετλασαν,
Εργοις σαν αγρευοντες δυναμιν.
Σοις δε ποθοις Αχιλλευς,
Αιας τ' Αιδαο δομον ηλθον.

This ode, which is preſerved in Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. and in Athenæus, l. xv. c. 16. proves the mind of the Stagyrite to have been as lofty as capacious: And, while it comprehended the whole circle of ſcience, capable of reaching, in lyric poetry, the higheſt flights of Pindar and Horace. The latter, probably, had Ariſtotle in view, in ode 3. b. 3.

Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas.

But in the order of his names, he is not ſo faithful to chronology.

[54] In the ſhield of Hercules, Heſiod deſcribes a boar fighting with a lion, and almoſt prevailing in the combat. That animal was no leſs terrible on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia than in Greece, as we learn from Herodotus, l. i. c. 34, et ſeq.

doubtleſs, been embelliſhed by the elegant fancy of poets and orators; but they will remain eternal monuments of generous magnanimity, which ſacrifices the inſtinctive love of eaſe and pleaſure to the acquired taſte for glory and renown [55].

CHAP. I.

The laws of war and peace gradually improved with the progreſs of humanity; and the firſt general enterpriſe, which ſucceeded the expedition of the Argonauts, proves that whole communities, as well as individuals, had begun to reſpect the virtues moſt eſſential to public happineſs. The war of Thebes has deſerved, therefore, to be recorded; while the more ancient hoſtilities between the Hellenic tribes, of which juſtice was not even the pretence, but luſt or avarice the only cauſe, and wealth or beauty the only prize, are univerſally condemned to oblivion. Contempt of an ancient oracle, the involuntary crimes of Oedipus, and the unnatural cruelty of his ſons, involved the royal family of Thebes in that maze of calamities, appropriated in all ages, from Sophocles [56] to Voltaire, as favorite ſubjects of the Tragic Muſe. Eteocles and Polynices (theſe were the miſerable ſons of Oedipus) having haſtened the death, and drawn down the maledictions, of their unhappy father, agreed to ſway, by turns, the Theban ſceptre. Eteocles,

The war of Thebes, A. C. 1225.

[55] Pauſan. l. i. Iſocrat. Hellen. Encom. et Panegyr. Lyſias et Demoſthen. Orat. Funebr.

[56] I might have ſaid Æſchylus, whoſe "Seven againſt Thebes" is founded on the hiſtory related in the text. But the name of Sophocles will bring to the mind of every reader of taſte and humanity, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and particularly the Oedipus Coloneus.

CHAP. I. the elder brother, reigned during the firſt year; but his ambitious temper, corrupted by the honors of royalty, refuſed to reſign the throne at the appointed term of his command. His rival, Polynices, married the daughter of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who enabled his ſon-in-law to aſſert, by force of arms, his juſt pretenſions to the alternate inheritance. The allied princes, reinforced by Tydeus, Capaneus, and three other chiefs, marched to Thebes at the head of ſeven bands of armed followers, who inveſted the ſeven gates of the city. The Thebans, impatient of confinement within the walls of a place ill provided in ſupplies, yielded to the martial ardor of Eteocles, and repelled the aſſailants by a vigorous ſally, in which the moſt illuſtrious combatants fell on both ſides, and the wretched brothers periſhed by mutual wounds. The cauſe of the war being removed by this horrid cataſtrophe, the Argives craved leave to bury their dead; but the Thebans, exaſperated againſt the daring invaders of their country, returned them an anſwer, which, according to the principles of that age, bid defiance to the dictates of nature, and the precepts of religion. In this extremity, Adraſtus, the only chief who ſurvived the battle, had recourſe to the humane piety of the Athenians, who, uninfluenced by motives of ambition or intereſt, took arms in defence of public juſtice, and compelled the cruel obſtinacy of the Thebans to grant the laſt melancholy honors to the aſhes of their deceaſed enemies [17]. At the diſtance of ten

[17] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

CHAP. I.

years, the more fortunate ſons of the chiefs who had fallen before the Theban walls, reſented, with the fury of religious rage, the indignities that had been impiouſly differed to the manes of their fathers. They again laid ſiege to the guilty city, deſtroyed the lives and property of many of the inhabitants, dragged many into captivity, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge, as their king, the infant ſon of the injured Polynices [18].

Circumſtances which favored the progreſs towards internal tranquillity in the Grecian ſtates.

In their progreſs towards civilization, the Greeks perceived the advantage of political confederacy, before they became fully ſenſible of the benefits of civil union. The neceſſity of providing for defence againſt the aſſaults of foreign enemies, and the natural dictates of intereſt and ambition, unfolded the idea of a federal aſſociation between different communities, before the members of any one ſtate had been ſufficiently united in the ſyſtem of domeſtic policy. Various cluſters of towns and villages, ſituate in winding vallies, divided by lofty mountains, acknowledged the authority of kings or chieftains, who led forth their warlike youth to glory and danger. Summoned to arms againſt foreign enemies, they readily flocked to the ſtandard of their king, and received, with implicit ſubmiſſion, his commands in the field, but when no common cauſe rouſed their emulation, or excited their valor, the inhabitants of each little

[18] Confer. Homer. l. iv. v. 337. et paſſim. Heſiod. Op. et Dl. Æſchyl. Septem contra Thebas. Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Statius Thebaid. Apollod. l. iii. Diodor. l. iv. Pauſan. in Bœotic.

CHAP. I.

townſhip aſpired at independent juriſdiction, and the nominal ſubjects of the ſame prince often terminated their differences by the deciſion of the ſword [59].

The example of Crete.

To cement ſuch diſorderly communities by laws and government, required an acquaintance with ſome more civilized people, among whom the effects of this happy union viſibly prevailed. Such an example fortunately occurred in the wiſe inſtitutions and policy of the Cretans, which are repreſented not only as the moſt ancient, but the beſt regulations, that ever were eſtabliſhed in any portion of the Grecian territory [60]. The celebrated iſland, which fable has dignified with the imaginary honor of giving birth to ſome of the gods [61] of Greece, poſſeſſed the real merit of communicating to that country many uſeful improvements. It had been early planted, as we had occaſion already to obſerve, by a colony of Dorians. This colony, which received various [62] acceſſions from Greece, enjoyed two advantages above their brethren on the continent. Their inſular ſituation left them expoſed, indeed, to naval depredations, but delivered them from thoſe fierce incurſions by land, which often diſfigured and deſolated the mother country. A favorable gale wafted the unſkilful mariners of antiquity from the ſhores of Crete to the capital of Egypt. The facility of communication

Peculiar circumſtances of that iſland.

[59] Thucydid. l. i. Plut. in Theſeo.

[60] Plat. de Leg. et in Minoe. Ariſtot. Pol. l. ii. Plut. in Lycurg.

[61] Heſiod. Theog. [62] Homer. Iliad. l. xix. v. 172, etc.

thus introduced between the two countries an habitual intercourſe, from which the barbarous iſlanders had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain. Rhadamanthus [1], and others of their early kings or chieftains, whom intereſt or curioſity carried into Egypt and the Eaſt, appear to have had ſagacity to obſerve, and dexterity to employ, ſeveral of the inventions and inſtitutions of thoſe powerful and civilized kingdoms, for the uſeful purpoſe of confirming their own authority, and bridling the fierce paſſions of their countrymen. CHAP. I.

The elder Minos is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for promoting this beneficial deſign. The doubtful appellation of Son of the Ocean, which, perhaps, he might derive from his numerous voyages, leaves it uncertain whether he was a native Cretan, or a foreigner. In the countries which he had viſited, he obſerved certain families inveſted, from time immemorial, with unbounded honors, as the immediate vicegerents of the divinity. The uncultivated, but freeborn genius of Greece, always rejected this odious profanation; yet it ſeemed poſſible to Minos to acquire that reſpect for his office, which he would have vainly ſolicited for his perſon. We are not informed by what virtues, civil or military, he acquired, before the eſtabliſhment of his laws, an extraordinary influence among the Cretans. But as ſlaves multiplied to ſuch a degree in the iſland during his reign, that agriculture and the mechanic arts were exerciſed by them The elder Minos.

[1] Strabo, l. x. p. 480.

CHAP. I. alone, there is reaſon to conjecture that he had been extremely ſucceſsful in war againſt his neighbours, and no leſs equitable in dividing the booty among the various Cretan tribes who followed the fortune of his arms. However this may be, it appears from the general evidence of antiquity, that Minos had addreſs to perſuade men, prone to wonder and to believe, among whom, whatever dazzled the imagination announced the preſence of a divinity, that their favorite hero was admitted to the familiarity of the gods [a]. From them he pretended to derive an invaluable ſyſtem of laws, which he was enjoined to engrave on tables of braſs. From Jupiter he received the regal ſceptre, which entitled him to adminiſter theſe laws, but obliged him to reſpect them. By command of the ſame god, he founded the cities of Gnoſſus, Cydonia, and Pheſtus, and united the diſtant ſubjects of his wide-extended domain, by ſuch regulations as ſerved alike to ſupport the authority of the prince, and to maintain the rights of the people [b].

Expedition of Theſeus into Crete. A. C. 1234.

The beautiful arrangement of this political edifice ſtruck the diſcerning eye of Theſeus, the illuſtrious ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, in his celebrated expedition to Crete, during the reign of the ſecond Minos. The laſt-mentioned prince joined

[a] Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής. Odyſſ. l. xix. v. 179. which Horace tranſlates,

Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus, L. i. Ode. 28.

[b] Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Plato in Minoe. diod. l. v.

the ſplendor of military renown to the famed wiſ- CHAP.
dom of his revered anceſtor. His maritime forces I.
exceeded the united ſtrength of his neighbours; he ſubdued ſeveral of the circumjacent iſles; and while he permitted his own ſubjects to ravage the coaſts of Greece, under pretence of lawful war, he effectually checked the piratical depredations of the Carians, Lycians, and Phœnicians, which had hitherto proved ſo frequent and ſo deſtructive[66]. Athens experienced the effects of his power and ambition, and reluctantly ſubmitted to a diſgraceful tribute of ſeven youths, and as many virgins[67], which was cruelly exacted by a nation who ſubſiſted on the labor of ſlaves. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan veſſel. Diſcontents aroſe againſt the government of Ægeus, who ſeemed to bear the indignity with too much tameneſs; when his heroic ſon, with a patriotiſm congenial to his character, generouſly offered his life in the ſervice of his country[68]. The fame of Theſeus had already reached the ears of Minos, who reſpected his virtues; and this reſpect was converted into admiration, on beholding the Athenian prince a voluntary captive.

[66] Thucydid. l. i.

[67] Odyſſ. l. xi. v. 320. et Virgil, Æn. 6.

Tum pendere pœnas
Cecropidæ juſſi, miſerum! ſeptena quotannis
Corpora natorum.

[68] Ipſe ſuum Theſeus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit.— Catullus.

CHAP. I.

Minos treated him with the affectionate kindneſs of ancient hoſpitality; gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage; and declared the Athenians thenceforth free from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious. Theſeus reaped great glory from this tranſaction. The veſſel, in which he ſailed, continued to be annually ſent, for more than eight centuries afterwards, to return thanks to Apollo, in his favorite iſland of Delos[69]; and the fortunate voyage to Crete was celebrated by ſacrifices, and other ceremonies, handed down to the lateſt times of the Athenian republic[70].

Theſeus communicates the Cretan improvements to Attica.

Many extraordinary circumſtances, invented by the poets, diſfigure events, which are otherwiſe ſufficiently authenticated. The unnatural amours of the abominable Paſiphaé, and the bloody feaſts of the monſtrous Minotaur[71], have been faithfully tranſcribed, from one age to another, in the tireſome compilations of injudicious mythologiſts; but it ſeems not to have occurred to thoſe writers, that the expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theſeus into the Athenian government. The inſtitutions and manners of that iſland preſented a picture of more regular compoſition, and more harmonious coloring, than could be ſeen in any part of the Grecian continent. Various ſocieties of freemen,

[69] Plato. Phædo.

[70] Plut. in Theſeo.

[71] Hic crudelis amor tauri, ſuppoſitaque furto
Paſiphaë, etc.
The judicious Virgil places theſe ſtrange ſtories in the ſculptured porch of an ancient temple.

all

all united under one government, all equal among themſelves, and all ſerved by ſlaves; no private property in land; the men eating at public tables, and the families ſubſiſting from the common ſtock; the youth regularly trained to the gymnaſtic exerciſes, navigation, and war; a ſevere morality enforced by law; honor the reward of age and merit; and the whole community acknowledging the prerogative of an hereditary king, who derived his authority from Jupiter, but who was no longer entitled to the divine protection than he continued to obſerve juſtice, and to maintain the unalienable privileges of his ſubjects [73]. Impreſſed with the ſalutary inſtitutions which he beheld in this flouriſhing iſland, Theſeus, upon his acceſſion to the throne of his father, was ambitious to introduce them into his native country. The rudeneſs of the Athenians, indeed, admitted not the introduction of written laws. But the ſcattered villages of Attica were perſuaded to embrace the regulations of the capital [74]; to unite in common ceremonies of religion; to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations of ſubjects; and, while they aſſerted the right of citizens, to reſpect, during peace and war, the ſacred prerogative of royal majeſty.

Thence diffuſed through Greece.

The improvements in domeſtic policy, thus introduced into Attica by the example of Crete, and the wiſdom of Theſeus, were gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces [75]. At the com-

[73] Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 9, etc. Strabo, ibid. Plato de Leg.

[74] Thucydid. l. ii. Plut. in Theſeo. [75] Dionyſ. Halic. l. v.

CHAP. I.

mencement of the Trojan war, all the Grecian ſtates had embraced one uniform ſyſtem of government, uniting the independent ſpirit of European freedom with the reſpectful veneration of Egyptian and Aſiatic ſuperſtition [75]. This ſingular frame of policy, compoſed of materials ſeemingly incapable of alliance, was peculiarly well adapted to great and generous undertakings; and unleſs the divine, though limited authority of kings, had fortified the other inſtitutions which ſerved to tame the ferocity of the Greeks, there is reaſon to doubt whether their leaders could have engaged above an hundred thouſand ſtubborn Barbarians to undertake a diſtant and difficult enterpriſe, much leſs have detained their reluctant impatience during ten years in the ſiege of Troy.

This enables the Greeks to undertake the Trojan war.

Before we examine the cauſes and incidents of this celebrated ſiege, to which the exploits hitherto related ſeem but unworthy preludes, it may be proper to take a ſhort view of the ſtrength and reſources of the two nations, who were eager to ſhock in a conflict, that totally deſtroyed the one, and proved extremely ruinous to the other. Excluſive of the provinces of Epirus and Macedonia, which long remained barbarous and uncultivated, the continental poſſeſſions of the Greeks were nearly equal to Scotland in extent, marked with ſtill bolder features, and bleſſed with a warmer ſun. In its length, the whole country is almoſt equally divided by two oppoſite gulphs, compreſſing

Deſcription of Greece;

its ſtrength and reſources.

[75] Homer, paſſim.

between them a mountainous neck of land, to the breadth of only five miles, into the peninſula of Peloponneſus, and the territory extending northwards, from the extremity of the Corinthian iſthmus to the ſouthern frontier of Macedonia [76]. The Peloponneſus, an hundred and ſixty miles in length, and ſcarcely one hundred in breadth, is every where interſected by mountains, particularly the towering ridges of Zarex and Taygetus. During the flouriſhing ages of Greece, this ſmall peninſula contained ſeven independent communities, of unequal power and fame, which ranked in the following order: The comparatively large, and highly diverſified, territory of Laconia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the extenſive coaſt of Achaia; the narrow but commercial iſthmus of Corinth; the central and mountainous region of Arcadia; together with the more level countries of Elis and Meſſenia, which are throughout better adapted to tillage than any other provinces of the Peloponneſus [77]. The Grecian poſſeſſions beyond the Corinthian iſthmus were more conſiderable, extending above two hundred miles from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. They were naturally divided, by the long and intricate ridges of Olympus, Pindus, Oeta, and Oſſa, into nine ſeparate provinces; which, during the celebrated ages of Grecian freedom, were occupied by nine independent republics. They comprehended the extenſive and fertile plains of

CHAP. I.

[76] Strabo, l. vii.

[77] Strabo, ibid. et Pauſan. Meſſen.

CHAP. I. Theſſaly and Bœotia, both of which were, in early times, much expoſed to inundations; and the latter, abounding in ſubterranean caverns, was peculiarly ſubject to earthquakes; the leſs fertile, but more ſecure territory of Attica; the weſtern provinces of Ætolia and Acarnania, encompaſſed on one ſide by dangerous ſeas, and confined on the other by almoſt impaſſable mountains; and the four ſmall rocky diſtricts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara [78].

It has been obſerved, that theſe names and diviſions, which remained to the lateſt times, are pretty accurately marked by Homer, whoſe poems continued, through ſucceeding ages, to be the approved ſtandard and legal code, to which neighbouring communities appealed, in adjuſting their diſputed boundaries [79]. This obſervation, however, muſt be qualified chiefly by two exceptions. During the Trojan war, the extenſive province of Theſſaly ſent forth above a fourth part of the whole Grecian ſtrength, and was divided among many warlike leaders. It might naturally be expected, while agriculture and paſturage were the principal occupations ſubſervient to human life, that a country, abounding in plains and meadows, ſhould excel in population and in power [80]. When commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts enriched and adorned the middle and ſouthern diviſions of Greece, the northern diſtrict of Theſſaly loſt its ancient pre-eminence. The ſecond

[78] Strabo, l. vii. [79] Plut. in Solon. [80] Plato in Menon.

exception aroſe from the extenſive power of the houſe of Pelops, which, as already mentioned, had, by fortunate marriages and rich ſucceſſions, acquired dominion over the northern and eaſtern parts of the Peloponneſus, formerly containing ſeveral independent principalities, and, after the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his family, again divided into the immortal republics of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Achaia. CHAP. I.

Number of the Grecian ships and troops.

From this general view of the country, it will not appear remarkable, that, in an age when every able-bodied man was a ſoldier, Greece ſhould have raiſed an army of an hundred and two thouſand men. The Acarnanians alone, for reaſons unknown, ſent no forces to Troy. But the continent was aſſiſted by the generous efforts of Crete, of Rhodes, and of many ſmaller iſlands, which were ſubject to their reſpective princes, or governed by the wide-extended dominion of Agamemnon. The veſſels collected for tranſporting theſe forces to Aſia amounted to twelve hundred ſail. They were equipped at little expenſe, and built with little ingenuity, moved by only one bank of oars, and entirely unprovided with decks or anchors. Their complement varied in different veſſels; ſome contained an hundred and twenty, others only fifty men, who appear to have been equally acquainted with the military art, as practiſed in that remote age, and with the rude ſimplicity of ancient navigation [91].

[91] Thucydid. ibid. Homer, paſſim.

CHAP. I.

Deſcription of Troas, or Leſſer Phrygia.

The celebrated kingdom of Priam, againſt which this armament was directed, occupied the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont, the ſouthern coaſt of the Propontis, and the northern ſhores of the Ægean. From the river Eſepus to the promontory of Lectum, the Trojan dominions extended in length two hundred miles; but their breadth was far leſs conſiderable, being regularly compreſſed between three ſeas, and the lofty ridges of mount Ida. This delightful and pictureſque country, which excelled Greece in fruitfulneſs of ſoil and ſoftneſs of climate [83], was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Helleſpontian, from the large inland province, which bore the common name of Phrygia [84]. The Leſſer, or Helleſpontian Phrygia, was planted, according to tradition, by a Grecian colony, about two hundred years before the Trojan war. The ſimilarity of religion, language, and manners, ſufficiently juſtified that opinion, and ſeems to have induced the moſt diligent inquirers of antiquity to regard not only the Trojans, but the Lycians and Pamphylians, as ſcattered branches of the Hellenic nation [84], which diſtance of place had gradually cut off from all communication with the trunk. The Aſiatic Greeks were expoſed to none of thoſe unfavorable circumſtances already mentioned, which long retarded the improvement of their brethren in Europe. The fertile and extenſive plains of Aſia offered them the materials of

Hiſtory of that country.

[83] Hippocrat. de Loc. [84] Strabo, l. xiii.

[84] Herodot. l. vii. Strabo, l. xiv.

more powerful kingdoms than Greece could afford; and, instead of being harassed and endangered by the continual incursions of northern savages, they enjoyed the vicinity of the Phrygians and Lydians, nations described as flourishing in wealth and peace from the remotest antiquity [85]. From the prevalence of the Grecian language and customs on the one hand, and the name of the country on the other, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Trojans were a mingled race of Greeks and Phrygians, collected by Dardanus, ancestor fifth in degree to old Priam. CHAP. II.

This adventurer, whose parentage Homer leaves uncertain, by calling him son of Jupiter [86], founded a city on one of the many western branches of mount Ida, commanding a beautiful and fertile plain, and watered by the immortal rivers Simois and Scamander [87]. The new settlement flourished under his son, the wealthy Erichthonius, who, by the judicious management of his mares and stallions, supplied the neighbouring kingdoms with horses of a superior breed. His successor, Tros, communicated his name to the territory, which was often called Troas, and to the celebrated city Ilion, which his son Ilus, having removed his residence from the mountain, built on the adjoining plain. Laomedon, the successor of Ilus, fortified the town of Ilion, or Troy, with walls of such uncommon strength, that, in the language and

[85] Herodot. l. i. Dionys. Halic. l. i. Suidas in voc. Αγχαχος.

[86] Iliad, xx. v. 215. [87] Ibid. xx. v. 216, etc. Strabo, lxiii.

CHAP. I.

belief of the times, they were deemed the work of the gods [88]. Whether he defrauded his ſuppoſed auxiliaries of their promiſed rewards and ſacrifices, or ſupplied the expenſe of this undertaking by deſpoiling their ſacred ſhrines, it is certain that the guilt of Laomedon was believed to entail calamity on his unhappy deſcendants.

Reign of Priam.

His ſon Priam, however, long enjoyed the deceitful gifts of fortune, before he was overtaken by the vengeance of heaven. Having attained old age in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of a throne, he was ſurrounded by a numerous and flouriſhing family, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours. Yet this amiable, but too indulgent prince, was deſtined to feel the ſharpeſt pangs of human miſery.

Cauſes of the Trojan war.

Hereditary feuds ſubſiſted between the anceſtors of Priam and thoſe of Agamemnon, when the latter quitted their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, to ſeek new ſettlements in Greece. The inſult offered to Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan youth, by the brutal fury of Tantalus [89], was retorted on Menelaus, the fourth in deſcent from this infamous prince, by the rape and detention of his queen, the celebrated Helen. Paris, the ill-fated ſon of Priam, was the author of this new injury. But reſentment for the wrongs of his houſe formed not the

[88] Homer, Iliad, xx. v. 216, etc. Strabo, lxiii.

[89] It has been obſerved, that the ſtory of Tantalus, father of Pelops, was probably the invention of a later age. It is certain that, whatever might prevail in Phrygia, the unnatural paſſion, which diſgraced the later times of Greece, was unknown in that country during the heroic ages. Natal. Com. l. ix. c. 13.

only motive which engaged the youthful levity of Paris to diſhonor the ſiſter-in-law of Agamemnon. Helen was the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. The illuſtrious honors of her family were adorned by the generous magnanimity of her brothers, Caſtor and Polydeuces, whoſe exploits ſhone conſpicuous in all the military expeditions of that gallant age. But the native luſtre of Helen needed not the aid of foreign ornament. Even in the tender age of childhood, her opening charms had inflamed the heart of Theſeus [90], the moſt admired and the moſt virtuous of the Grecian chiefs. The fame of her beauty increaſed with her ripening age, and her perſon became an object of eager contention among thoſe who, by birth or merit, were entitled to aſpire at the invaluable prize. Tyndareus, ſolicitous to prevent the violence of a ſecond lover (for, agreeably to the manners of his age, Theſeus had carried her off by force), bound the various ſuitors by oath to defend the honor of his daughter, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of her charms to the man who ſhould be honored with her choice [91]. The princely mien and inſinuating manners of Menelaus, were preferred to the more ſolid qualities of his numerous competitors. Having married the heireſs of Tyndareus, he ſucceeded, in her right, to the Spartan throne [92]. The graceful pair had not long enjoyed the honors of royalty, and the ſweets of conjugal union, when their happineſs

CHAP. I.

Beauty and adventures of Helen, daughter of the king of Sparta.

She marries Menelaus, who ſucceeds to that kingdom.

[90] Plut. in Theſeo. [91] Thucydid. l. i. c. 9. [92] Pauſan. Laconi.

CHAP. I.

Character of Paris, ſon of Priam;

was interrupted by the arrival of the ſon of Priam, the handſomeſt man of his age, and ſingularly adorned with the frivolous accompliſhments that often captivate the weakneſs of a female mind. Though a ſoldier of no great renown, Paris had ſtrongly imbibed the romantic ſpirit of gallantry which prevailed [91] in the heroic ages, and was diſtinguiſhed by an ardent paſſion for beauty, which, notwithſtanding the general ſoftneſs of his unwarlike character, prompted him to brave every danger in purſuit of his favorite object. Animated by the hope of beholding the inimitable model of what he moſt adored, he ſeized the opportunity afforded him by a voyage of Menelaus into Crete, viſited the dominions of his hereditary enemies, and ſolicited the rites of hoſpitality at the Spartan court.

who ſeduces, and carries her to Troy.

His perſon, his accompliſhments, his addreſs, and ſtill more the voluntary hardſhips which he had endured for her ſake, ſeduced the inconſtant affections of the Grecian queen. Enamoured of the elegant ſtranger, ſhe abandoned her country and her huſband, and having tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure within the Trojan walls, defied the reſentment of Greece, and the vengeance of heaven.

[91] Perſeus had carried off the African Meduſa; Jaſon, Medea of Colchis; Theſeus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deaneira, etc. The hiſtorical poets of the heroic ages might have ſaid, with Arioſto,

Le donne, i cavalier', l'arme, gli amori,
Le corteſie, l'audaci impreſe io canto.

CHAP. I.

It was now the time for Menelaus to crave the ſtipulated aſſiſtance of his ancient rivals. His demand was enforced by the authority of Agamemnon [94]. At the ſummons of the two brothers, the confederates aſſembled at Ægium, the capital of Achaia; confirmed the obligation of their former promiſe; ſettled the proportion of troops to be raiſed by each prince; determined the time and place of their departure; and named Agamemnon, the moſt powerful among them, to the chief command, in an expedition which ſo deeply concerned the honor of his family.

The Greeks determined to recover her.

Aulis, a ſea-port of Bœotia, was appointed for the place of rendezvous and embarkation [95]. Before the whole armament ſailed from thence, Ulyſſes king of Ithaca, and, what may ſeem extraordinary, the injured Menelaus, undertook a ſolemn embaſſy to Troy, in order to demand reſtitution and reparation; but returned highly diſguſted with their reception and treatment. Some members of the Trojan council had the barbarity to propoſe putting them to death. Their juſt indignation increaſed the warlike ardor of their aſſociates. But contrary winds long retarded their departure. The Trojans had time to ſtrengthen their ramparts, to collect arms and proviſions, and to ſummon the aſſiſtance of their diſtant allies. The martial ſpirit of the age, together with a ſenſe of common danger, brought many powerful auxiliaries to Priam. His cauſe was defended by the

Sail to Troy under the command of Agamemnon.

[94] Thucydid. l. i. c. 9. [95] Heſiod. Oper. et Dies.

CHAP. I.

hardy mountaineers, who covered the back of his kingdom; by the Carians, Lycians, and other nations of Aſia Minor, extending from the mouth of the river Halys to the ſouthern extremity of Cilicia; and by the Pelaſgi, Thracians, and Pæonians, fierce barbarians who inhabited the European ſide of the Helleſpont and Propontis. Confiding, however, rather in their domeſtic ſtrength, than in foreign aſſiſtance, the Trojans determined to defend their native ſhores againſt hoſtile invaſion. The debarkation of the Greeks was purchaſed by much blood. Having effected a deſcent, they encamped on the Trojan plain, but loſt the only opportunity which they enjoyed during many years, of cruſhing at once the power of their enemies; who immediately ſhut themſelves up within their impenetrable walls, leaving the city open only on the ſide of mount Ida, from which they received corn, cattle, and other neceſſary ſupplies.

Effect a deſcent on the Trojan coaſt.

Agamemnon, as there was reaſon to expect from the manners of his age, had been more induſtrious in collecting a great army, than provident in contriving means by which it might keep the field. The proviſions, tranſported from Greece, were ſpeedily conſumed, while the operations of the ſiege promiſed little hope of ſucceſs, the Greeks being unacquainted with any military engines fitted to make an impreſſion on the Trojan walls. With ſuch a numerous army, they might have converted the ſiege into a blockade; but ſcarcity of ſupplies compelled the greater part of them to

Cauſes which protracted the ſiege of Troy.

quit the camp. The reſource of ravaging the adjacent country ſoon exhauſted itſelf. Many betook themſelves to cultivating the rich vales of the Cherſoneſus, whoſe induſtrious inhabitants had recently been expelled, or deſtroyed, by the fierce incurſions of the barbarous Thracians [96]. Others had recourſe to piracy, ſcoured the neighbouring ſeas, ravaged the unprotected coaſts of the Helleſpont and Ægean, and plundered or demoliſhed ſuch unfortified places as acknowledged the dominion, or aſſiſted the arms of Troy [97]. Theſe ravages excited the rage of the Aſiatics, and rendered them more hearty in the cauſe of their confederates. In this manner nine ſummers and winters elapſed, without affording the nearer proſpect of a deciſion to the conteſt; but, in the tenth year of the war, the ſeeming misfortunes of the Greeks precipitated the downfal of the proud city of Priam. A dreadful peſtilence invaded the camp of the beſiegers, and long continued to rage with unabating fury. This calamity was followed by the well-known quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, which deprived the Grecian army of its principal ſtrength and ornament. The Trojans derived new ſpirits from the misfortunes of their enemies; they ventured to abandon the protection of their walls, boldly aſſailed the Grecian camp, and riſked ſeveral engagements, in moſt of which they were victorious. In the laſt of theſe, the beloved friend of Achilles was ſlain by the arm of Hector, the

CHAP. II

That city taken in the tenth year of the war.

[96] Thucydid. l. i. [97] Homer, paſſim.

CHAP. I. braveſt and moſt generous of the Trojan race. This event, which was infinitely more dreadful than death to the affectionate ardor of the Grecian chief, ſtifled his hitherto inexorable reſentment againſt the proud tyranny of Agamemnon. His return to the camp reſtored the declining fortune of the Greeks; and the indignant fury of his rage was quenched in the deteſted blood of Hector, whoſe patriotic valor had long been the firmeſt bulwark of his father's kingdom. The deſtruction of Troy [a] ſoon followed the death of her darling hero. The city, whether taken by ſtorm or by ſurpriſe, was ſet on fire during night; moſt of the citizens periſhed by the ſword, or were dragged into captivity; and only a miſerable remnant eſcaped through the confuſed horror of raging flames and expiring kinſmen.

Future fortunes of Troy.

The burning of Troy happened eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Chriſtian æra. Neither the city nor territory ever aſſumed, in any ſucceeding age, the dignity of independent government [b]. The ſea-coaſt was planted eighty

[a] We ſhould probably know ſomething more of the hiſtory of the Trojan war, if the works of Piſander remained. Macrobius, in ſpeaking of the plagiariſms of the Romans from Greek writers, has the following paſſage: "Quæ Virgilius traxit a Græcis, dicturumne "me putetis, quæ vulgo nota ſunt? . . . . vel quod everſionem Trojæ "cum Sinone ſuo & equo ligneo, ceteriſque omnibus, quæ librum "ſecundum faciunt, a *Piſandro* pene ad verbum tranſcripſerit, qui "inter Græcos poetas eminet," &c. Macrob. l. v. c. 2.

[b] I have carefully examined the evidence given by Bochart (Epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia), and by Mr. Wood (Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer), to prove that the deſcendants of

years after the Trojan war, by new colonies from Greece; and the inland parts ſubmitted to the growing power of the Lydians, whoſe arms overſpread and conquered all the fineſt provinces of Leſſer Aſia [100].

The calamitous return of the Greeks.

The Greeks had recovered poſſeſſion of the admired beauty of Helen; they had taken complete vengeance on the family [101] and nation of her unhappy ſeducer; but the misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of the Trojan expedition, left them little reaſon to boaſt of their victory. Of five Bœotian commanders, only one remained, and the ſiege had been proportionably fatal to the leaders of other tribes, as well as to their warlike followers. Thoſe who lived to divide the rich ſpoils of Troy, were impatient to ſet ſail with their newly-acquired treaſure, notwithſtanding the threatening appearance of the ſkies. Many of them periſhed by ſhipwreck; the reſt were long toſſed on unknown ſeas; and when they expected to find in their native country the end of their calamities, they were expoſed to ſuffer greater calamities there, than any which they had yet endured. The thrones of ſeveral of the abſent princes had

Æneas reigned in Troy. But notwithſtanding the learned ingenuity of a profound, and the plauſible criticiſm of an elegant ſcholar, the matter ſeems ſtill too doubtful to warrant contradicting the popular opinion.

[100] Herod. l. ii. Thucyd. l. i. Juſtin, l. xviii. Strabo, l. iii.

[101] I dwell not on a ſubject which has been handled by the great maſters of the paſſions. See Virgil:

Forſitan et Priami fuerint quæ fata requiras, etc.

CHAP. I.

been usurped by violence and ambition; the lands of various communities had been occupied by the invasion of hostile tribes: even the least unfortunate of those adventurers found their domains uncultivated, or their territories laid waste; their families torn by discord, or their cities shaken by sedition. And thus the most celebrated enterprise of combined Greece tended to plunge that delightful and once happy country into barbarism and misery [101].

[101] Plato, de Leg. l. iii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Religion.—Government.—Arts.—Manners, and Character.

CHAP. II. Introduction.

THE ancient Greeks had ſtrongly imbibed an opinion that the country in which they lived was peculiarly favorable to the dignity of human nature. The voluptuous climates of Aſia produced invention and ingenuity, but ſoftened the tempers of men into a fitneſs for ſervitude. The rigorous ſeverity of European ſkies gave ſtrength and agility to the limbs, and hardy boldneſs to the mind, but chilled the fancy, and benumbed the finer feelings of the ſoul. The inhabitants of the eaſt and ſouth were degraded below the condition of humanity, by an unfortunate abuſe of power, while the turbulent ſons of the north and weſt were incapable, from ignorance and indocility, of ſubmitting to any regular ſyſtem of government. The Greeks alone, poſſeſſing an intermediate ſituation between the extremes of cold and heat, united courage and capacity; tempered the ſtern and manly, with the gentler virtues; and enjoyed the double advantage of liberty and laws [1].

The authority of Homer, as an hiſtorian.

This ſplendid obſervation is too flattering to the dictates of national vanity to be haſtily adopted by a cautious inquirer into truth, who will be apt to

[1] Ariſtot. Politic. l. vii. c. 7. Iſocrat. Govern. Athen. Panegyric. et Panathen.

CHAP. II. aſcribe the ſuperior luſtre of Grecian manners, rather to the elegant imagination of authors, than to the intrinſic merit of their ſubject. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, ſeveral circumſtances would lead us to believe, that the great poet to whom we owe our principal information concerning the ancient ſtate of Greece, copied from nature only. The majeſty of Virgil, the ſplendor of Taſſo, and the ſublimity of Milton, are not ſufficient to conceal an effort in thoſe noble writers to maintain the tone which they have aſſumed; a deſire to embelliſh the manners which they deſcribe; an ambition to elevate and to adorn their poems by the uſe of a marvellous machinery, which had not its foundation in the experience, and (as to Virgil and Taſſo) ſcarcely in the belief of their own age. In Homer there is neither embelliſhment, nor effort, nor diſguiſe of any kind; he relates what he has ſeen and heard with unaffected ſimplicity; his ideas and ſentiments are not only clothed in the graces of poetry, but arrayed in the charms of truth; and an amazing diverſity of characters, preſerving amidſt innumerable ſhades of diſcrimination a general air of reſemblance, diſtinguiſh the Iliad and Odyſſey above other poetical compoſitions, and prove them to have been copied, not from the limited combinations of human invention, but from the wide variety of impreſſions in the rich ſtore-houſe of nature. In ſome deſcriptive parts of his poem, Homer doubtleſs yielded to the pleaſing dictates of his inimitable fancy; but it ſeems plain from internal evidence only, that he delineates with

minute accuracy the geography, mythology, hiſtory, and manners of Greece; and that his obſervations concerning all theſe ſubjects are perfectly agreeable to the opinions and belief which univerſally prevailed among his countrymen. If this matter required the aid of foreign evidence, it might be fully confirmed by the teſtimony of the Greek hiſtorians, who ſupport in every inſtance the veracity of the poet; aſſerting not only the authenticity of the facts which he relates, but the influence of the cauſes to which he aſcribes them[a].

CHAP. III.

Compariſon between the Greeks of the heroic ages, and the Germans as deſcribed by Tacitus.

It may be obſerved, however, by thoſe who would repreſs the ebullitions of Grecian vanity, that, admitting the poems of Homer as complete evidence concerning the ancient ſtate of his country, all the advantage that would follow from this ſuppoſition is, that the Greeks have been accurately deſcribed at an earlier period of their ſociety than moſt other nations; but the ſilence of thoſe nations

[a] The nature and tranſactions of the gods, which juſtly ſhock the feelings of the modern reader, are perfectly conformable to the belief of the Greeks. The continual interpoſition of theſe ethereal beings in the affairs of human life, is juſtified by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and all ſucceeding writers. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. explains the reaſon why the Perſians erected neither temples, nor images, nor altars, by ſaying, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας νομίσαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι, "becauſe they did not, like the Greeks, believe the "gods to partake of a human nature, or form." That the gods often appeared in a human ſhape, is taken for granted by Pauſanias in Arcad. and Plutarch, de Muſica. The ſame opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan, in a later age. See Gibbon, Vol. III. Many inſtances will occur in the following hiſtory, to prove the exact conformity of Homer's deſcriptions to the general belief of his country.

CHAP. III. cannot reaſonably be interpreted as a proof of their inferiority to the Greeks in manners or in policy. The maſterly deſcription of a philoſophic hiſtorian has reſcued the antiquities of one other people from oblivion; and the generous ſpirit of *their* ſimple but manly inſtitutions, as painted by his expreſſive pencil, is ſcarcely diſgraced by a compariſon with the boaſted cuſtoms of the heroic ages.

In the preference of military glory to all other advantages, in the freedom of debate in the public aſſemblies, and in the protection afforded to the rights and liberties of the meaneſt citizen, the treatiſe of Tacitus will equally apply to the Germans and to the Greeks. But there is one material circumſtance wanting in the German, which adds peculiar beauty to the Grecian character. Among the rude inhabitants of ancient Germany, the offices of prieſt and king were not united in the ſame perſon. The rites of religion were adminiſtered by a particular order of men, who might abuſe the ſuperſtitious fears of the multitude to promote their own ſelfiſh deſigns; and the dread of ſuperior powers, though ſometimes employed to enforce the dictates of nature, and to promote the operations of government, might alſo, with equal ſucceſs, be employed to weaken the impreſſions of the one, and to reſiſt the authority of the other. Beſides this unfavorable circumſtance, the ſuperſtition of the Germans was of a dark and gloomy kind, little connected with the ordinary duties of ſociety, recommending principally the practice of courage, the only virtue which there was not any

occaſion to recommend; and promiſing, as the reward of what was deemed the higheſt excellence in life, the enjoyment of an infamous paradiſe of immortal drunkenneſs after death[3].

CHAP. II.

The religion of the Greeks.

The mythology of the Greeks was of a more agreeable, and of a far more uſeful nature. The ſceptre, which denoted the connexion of civil power with ſacred protection, was conferred on thoſe who, while they continued the humble miniſters of the gods, were appointed to be the chief, but accountable guardians of the people[4]. The ſame voice that ſummoned the warriors to arms, or that decided, in time of peace, their domeſtic contentions, conducted the order of their religious worſhip, and preſided in the prayers and hymns addreſſed to the divinity. Theſe prayers and hymns, together with the important rite of ſacrifice (which likewiſe was performed by royal hands), formed the *ceremonial* part of the Grecian religion. The *moral* was far more extenſive, including the principal offices of life, and the nobleſt virtues of the mind. The uſeful quality of courage was peculiarly acceptable to the ſtern god of war; but the virtues of charity and hoſpitality were ſtill more pleaſing to the more amiable divinities[5]. The ſubmiſſion of ſubjects to their prince, the duty of

Its happy influence on ſociety.

[3] Tacit. de Morib. German. Mr. Gibbon's Roman Empire.

[4] Ποιμένες λαων.

[5] —— προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε.
All ſtrangers and beggars come from Jove. Odyſſ. xiv. 56.

CHAP. II.

a prince to preserve inviolate the rights of his subjects [a], the obedience of children to their parents [b], the respect of the young for the aged, the sacred laws of truth, justice, honor, and decency, were inculcated and maintained by the awful authority of religion. Even the most ordinary transactions of private life were consecrated by the piety of the Greeks. They ventured not to undertake a voyage, or a journey, without soliciting the propitious aid of their heavenly protectors. Every meal (and there were three [c] in a day) was accompanied with a sacrifice and libation. The common forms of politeness, the customary duties of civility, were not decided by the varying taste of individuals, but defined by the precise voice of the gods [d].

The sanctions of their religion.

It would have served little purpose to oppose salutary laws to the capricious licence of barbarians, without guarding those laws by very powerful sanctions. Whether these sanctions be founded on opinion or on fact is, with respect to their influence on the mind, a matter of little moment. The dreaded vengeance of imaginary powers may be equally effectual with the fear of the axe and halter. The certainty of this vengeance was firmly

[a] Iliad, xvi. v. 385.

[b] It is not humanity, but the fear of the gods, that is mentioned as the reason by Telemachus for not sending away his mother. Odyss. 2.

[c] Αριστον δειπνον δορπος.

[d] The king of the Phœacians does not detain Ulysses longer than he chuses, lest he should offend the gods, Odyss. viii. See also the behaviour of Ulysses and Telemachus, in the cottage of Eumæus. Odyss. xiv. and xvi.

eſtabliſhed in the Grecian creed; and its operation was ſuppoſed to be ſo immediate and palpable, that it was impoſſible for the inattention of men to overlook, or for their addreſs to elude its force [10]. The daring violations of the ſacred law [11] were ſpeedily overtaken by manifeſt marks of the Divine diſpleaſure. "The inſolence and violence "of the corrupted youths [12], ſays Homer, "cried "aloud to heaven, whoſe decrees were ſoon exe-"cuted by the avenging hands of Ulyſſes." The judgments inflicted on guilty communities were ſo familiar to the minds of men, that the poet introduces them by way of ſimilies [13]; and it is evident from his writings throughout, that every important event, proſperous or adverſe, which happened either to individuals or to nations, appeared to the pious reſignation of the Greeks, the reward of their religion and virtue, or the puniſhment of their irreligion and vice [14]. The merit of the father was

[10] See the firſt book of Heſiod's poem "Of Works and Days," throughout: and particularly

Ω Περση συ δ' ακλυε δικης μηδε υβριν οφελλε, from v. 110 till v. 242: and again,

Τονδε γαρ ανθρωποισι νομον διεταξε Κρονιων, from v. 276 till v. 291.

[11] Θεμιστας διος. Homer, paſſim. [12] Odyſſ. i.

[13] See a beautiful example of this, Iliad. xvi. v. 385. The expreſſion of Heſiod is remarkable:

Παντα ιδων Διος οφθαλμος, και παντα νοησας
Και νυ τοδε, αικε εθελησι, επιδερκεται, etc.

"The eye of Jove, that beholds all, and obſerves all, looks upon "theſe tranſactions, when he pleaſes; nor does it eſcape his notice "what kind of juſtice is rendered in the city."

[14] The ſucceſs of the Greeks againſt Troy proves both parts of the propoſition. All the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs were inflicted

CHAP. II. often acknowledged in the protection of the ſon; and the crimes of a guilty progenitor were often viſited on his deſcendants to the third and fourth generation [25].

Theſe obſervations are confirmed, not only by the writings of Homer and Heſiod throughout, but by almoſt every page of Herodotus, of Pindar, as well as of the Greek tragedians and hiſtorians; and yet they ſeem to have eſcaped the notice of ſome of the moſt ingenious inquirers into the opinions of antiquity. The authority of Greek writers ſtrongly oppoſes two ſyſtems, which have been ſupported with great ability, and which have gained conſiderable credit in the world. The firſt, that the religion of the ancients had little or no connexion with morality: the ſecond, that the governments of Greece could not have been ſupported

as punishments. Oilean Ajax was ſlain for his preſumption, by Neptune (Odyſſ. iv.); and Ajax, the ſon of Telamon, was a memorable example of the fatal effects of the ſame vice. When Minerva offered him her aſſiſtance, he deſired her to go to others, for the enemy would never attempt to penetrate where Ajax fought. Before his departure for Troy, Telamon prayed that the gods would give valor to his ſon; when the proud ſon, aſpiring above the condition of humanity, ſaid, That any man might be brave and victorious by the aſſiſtance of the gods; for his part, he expected to obtain glory by his own merit; the gods puniſhed him with madneſs, and, after expoſing him to the ridicule of his enemies, made him fall by his own hands. See the Ajax of Sophocles, from v. 760 to v. 800.

[25] Minerva protected Telemachus on account of his father's merit. Odyſſ. paſſim. The misfortunes of the royal families of Thebes and Argos, deſcribed in the many tragedies of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, abundantly prove the truth of the laſt obſervation.

without the doctrine of a future ſtate [16]. The connexion between religion and morality is clearly aſſerted in the various paſſages to which we have had occaſion to allude; and the belief of a future ſtate of retribution cannot, according to the principles of the learned author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, be reckoned neceſſary to the government of men, who are fully perſuaded of the actual and immediate interpoſition of Divine wiſdom and juſtice, to regulate, by temporal rewards and puniſhments, the affairs of the preſent life [17].

[16] See Hume's Natural Hiſtory of Religion, and Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes. The eleventh book of the Odyſſey, which the ancients called the Νεκυομαντεια, is the obſcureſt, and, in my opinion, the leaſt agreeable part of Homer. The ghoſts are all condemned to a melancholy and dreary ſtate; even the greateſt heroes are very miſerable and dejected; and there is not any mention of the place of reward for the virtuous. Homer ſpeaks of the Elyſian fields but once (Odyſſey iv. ver. 563.). Proteus tells Menelaus, that he is not *deſtined to die at Argos*, and that the gods would ſend him εις Ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης; ſo that, if the language is not metaphorical, Homer's Elyſium was only a delicious ſpot on this earth, and ſituated, according to Strabo's conjecture, on the ſouthern coaſt of Spain. Strabo, l. iii. Ulyſſes (Odyſſ. xi. ver. 600.) ſees the images of Hercules in Tartarus, but the hero himſelf, as the poet informs us, was feaſting with the immortal gods. I have never met with any intelligible explanation of this paſſage, the abſurdity of which appeared a proper ſubject of ridicule to Lucian, in Diogen. et Hercul. — Heſiod's Elyſium is more agreeable.

[17] The gods, indeed, are ſometimes engaged in very unwarrantable tranſactions; but theſe are only means to compaſs ſome wiſe and juſt end, which the will of providence, the διος βουλη, or fate, had previously determined. Examples alſo may be brought from Homer, of men attempting to obtain, by coſtly ſacrifices, the aſſiſtance of the gods in acts of injuſtice and cruelty. This muſt be allowed to be an inconſiſtency in Grecian ſuperſtition, or rather in the paſſions which gave it birth.

CHAP. II.

Origin of the gods of Greece

As this perſuaſion had ſuch general and happy effects on the manners of the Greeks, it may be proper to conſider its origin, and to deſcribe more particularly the nature and genius of the ſuperſtition to which it gave birth: a ſuperſtition which, two thouſand years after loſing its imaginary authority over the uſeful occupations of men, ſtill preſerves a real power over their moſt elegant amuſements.

not explained in hiſtory.

It belongs not to the deſign of this work to ſearch for the mythological tenets of Greece in the opinions of other nations: a ſubject of inquiry upon which much learned conjecture and much laborious ingenuity have already been very laudably, but I fear not very ſucceſsfully, employed [18]. By the dim light of etymology and tradition, and the deceitful glare of legend and fable, inquiſitive men have endeavoured to trace the corrupted ſtreams of Pagan worſhip to the pure fountain of the Jewiſh diſpenſation [19]. But the majeſty of Jehovah is very feebly repreſented by the united power of Homer's divinities: and the mythology of the Greeks is of ſuch a peculiar texture, that, whenceſoever ori-

[18] Bochart's Geograph. Bryant's New Analyſis. Fourmont, Le Clerc, de la Pluche, etc. Their doctrine is oppoſed in the extraordinary work of Vico Neapolitano, entitled "Principi di Scienza "nuova d'intorno alla commune Natura delle Nazioni." The third edition of this work was published at Naples in 1744.

[19] The general doctrine of providence, the rebellion in heaven, the ſtate of innocence, the fall of man, atonement by ſacrifice, a future ſtate of retribution, for which the preſent life is only preparatory: all, or ſome of theſe tenets, are found in the traditions of all nations, Greeks and Barbarians. See Heſiod. Oper. et Di. ver. 110 and ver. 165. and Theog. ver. 725 and ver. 220.

ginally derived, it must have undergone a particular modification in the Grecian soil; nor is it easy to concur with the opinion of writers who bring it immediately from Egypt, Chaldea, or Lesser Asia, when we consider that there is not the smallest vestige in Homer of the judicial astrology which prevailed so strongly in the two first [20], or of the worshipping of idols, which almost universally predominated in the last [21]. CHAP. II.

Philosophic account of it.

The difficulty of giving such an historical deduction of the Grecian faith as would not be exposed to innumerable objections, obliges us to trace its origin in the natural passions of the human heart, the hopes, the fears, the wants, the misery of man, which have in all ages rendered him a prey to the terrors of superstition [22]. This miserable passion, which, in the civilized countries of modern Europe, operates only at distant intervals, and chiefly in the unfortunate moments of disease and danger, maintains a constant and uninterrupted power over the minds of Barbarians. The disproportionate force of the same principle among rude and among civilized men, is ascribed by a common proverb to the gross ignorance of the former; but it may, with more propriety perhaps, be deduced from their precarious and unhappy manner of life, the continual dangers to which their existence is exposed, and the dreadful calamities in which the

[20] Diodorus Sicul. l. ii. Exod. chap. vi. Plin. l. xxx.

[21] The Old Testament, passim.

[22] Πουτες δε θεων χατεμεν ανθρωποι — "All men stand in need of "the gods." Hom. Odyssey iii.

CHAP. II. whole ſociety is too frequently involved [23]. Even among poliſhed nations, the power of reaſon and philoſophy, however highly it may be extolled when the gentle current of life flows with placid tranquillity, always proves too feeble to reſiſt the mountain torrent and the ſtorm of winter. Under the preſſure of ſudden or inextricable calamity, all thoſe, who are not more or leſs than men, have recourſe to the immediate aſſiſtance of inviſible powers; and in the ſplendid abodes of wealth and power, as well as in the American village or Tartar horde, the æra of a famine, a peſtilence, or an earthquake, is marked by ſincere expreſſions of faith, and commemorated by ſignal monuments of piety [24].

The great pillar of ſuperſtition, raiſed by the anxious paſſions of men, was fortified in Greece by a circumſtance incidental to all nations at a certain ſtage of their political progreſs. There is a period when nations emerging from barbarity, but not yet corrupted by the narrow purſuits of avarice, not yet ſoftened by the mean pleaſures of luxury, or contracted by the dangerous refinements of a ſelfiſh philoſophy, enjoy a peculiar ſenſibility of character, which exerts itſelf in the ardor of ſocial affection, and ſtrengthens, by a

[23] Δυσυχιας επιτασις και σωτηριας απογνωσις ευχη θεων. Schol. in Homer. Tum præcipuus votorum locus eſt, cum ſpei nullus eſt. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

[24] In moſt men, true religion itſelf muſt, from the nature of human paſſions, have the greateſt, becauſe an undivided, influence over the mind, in ſeaſons of inextricable calamity.

thouſand aſſociations, their belief of inviſible and intelligent powers. To men, thus diſpoſed to wonder and to believe, whatever dazzles the imagination, announces the preſence of a deity; dreams and celeſtial appearances are deemed ſacred and infallible admonitions; the ſilence and thick ſhade of a foreſt fills the ſoul with religious awe; and perſons, diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and piety, eaſily perſuade themſelves and others, that, as the beloved favorites of heaven, they are frequently honored with holy inſpirations, and ſometimes indulged with the viſible preſence and happy intercourſe of their Divine protectors [25]. Not only the religion but the ancient language and manners of Greece, ſufficiently atteſt the exiſtence of this exceſſive ſenſibility, which, in thoſe early times, gave an eaſy victory to the indulgent powers of fancy, over the ſevere dictates of reaſon.

The nature of the gods.

The nature, the characters, and the occupations of the gods, were ſuggeſted by the lively feelings of an ardent, rather than by the regular invention of a cultivated, mind. Theſe celeſtial beings were

[25] Pauſan. (in Arcad.) calls them ξενοι και ὁμοτραπεζοι, gueſts and *companions at the ſame table.* Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on Muſic, cites as authorities Anticles and Iſtros, two ancient authors, who wrote concerning the apparitions of the gods. All that has reached the preſent times reſpecting this curious ſubject, is collected in a diſſertation of John Gottlob Nimptſch (Leipſic, 1720.), in which he treats of the number of the divinities who appeared moſt commonly to men; of the form under which they appeared; the uſual time, and general cauſes, of their appearing, and the ordinary circumſtances accompanying it. See alſo Mémoires de l'Academie, vol. ix. Mém. ſur les Mœurs des Siècles Heröiques.

CHAP. II.

ſubject to the blind paſſions which govern unhappy mortals. Their wants, as well as their deſires, were ſimilar to thoſe of men. They required not the groſs nouriſhment of meat and wine, but they had occaſion to repair the waſte of their ethereal bodies by nectar and ambroſia; and they delighted in the ſteam of the ſacrifices, which equally gratified their ſenſes and flattered their vanity [26]. The refreſhment of ſleep was neceſſary to reſtore their exhauſted ſtrength [27], and with the addition of a ſuperior, but limited degree of power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs, the gods of the heroic ages were nothing more than immortal men.

What was wanting in the dignity and perfection, was ſupplied by the number of the gods [28]. Homer only deſcribes the principal and reigning divinities; but Heſiod, who gives the genealogical hiſtory of this fanciful hierarchy, makes the whole number amount to thirty thouſand. Among theſe, every virtue had its protector, every quality of extenſive power in human life had its patron, and every grove and mountain and river its favorite inha-

[26] Theſe obſervations naturally reſult from Homer; but the doctrine of ſacrifices, as expiations for crimes, ſo univerſally diffuſed over the ancient and modern world, would perhaps ſtill merit the examination of an able divine.

[27] Mercury ſays to Calypſo, he would not have fatigued himſelf by travelling over ſuch a length of ſea and land, without a very powerful reaſon. Odyſſ.

[28] Fragilis et laborioſa, mortalitas in partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor, ut portionibus quiſquis coleret, quo maximè indigeret. Plin. H. 7.

bitants. Twelve divinities [29] of ſuperior rank preſided over the active principles of the univerſe, and the leading virtues of the mind: but even theſe diſtinguiſhed beings were ſubject to the unrelenting power of vengeance [30] and the fates, "who "purſue the crimes of men and gods, and never "ceaſe from their wrath till they have inflicted "juſt puniſhment on the guilty ſons of earth "and heaven [31]."

Particular effects of the Grecian religion.

The materials which fancy had created, poetry formed into beauty, and policy improved into uſe. The creed of the Greeks, thus adorned and enlarged, became the happieſt antidote againſt the furious reſentment, the ſavage cruelty, and the fierce ſpirit of ſullen independence, which uſually characterize the manners of Barbarians [32]. Yet theſe dreadful paſſions ſometimes forced their way through every mound which wiſdom had erected in order to oppoſe their courſe. Laws ſacred and profane were feeble barriers againſt the impetuoſity of their rage. The black vengeance of the heart was exerted in deeds of horror. The death of an enemy could not ſatisfy their inhuman cruelty.

[29] The Roman religion was mere plagiariſm, ſo that Ennius might well tranſlate two lines of an ancient Greek poet, which include the names of the principal divinities of Greece and Italy:

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.
ENNIUS apud Apuleium.

[30] Νεμεσις. [31] Heſiod. Theolog.

[32] Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
Negans jura ſibi facta, nihil non arrogans armis — HORAT.
will be found the general character of all barbarous nations.

CHAP. II. They burned with desire to drink his hated blood, to devour his quivering limbs, and to expose his mangled remains to indignities equally odious and abominable in the sight of gods and men [13]. The powerful influence of religion was directed against the wild excesses of this sanguinary temper. The brave Tydeus lost for ever the protection of his adored Minerva by a single act of savage ferocity. Humanity was inculcated by every precept of reason, and enforced by the strongest motives of hope and fear. It was a firm article of belief, that hands stained with blood, even in the exercise of honorable war, were unworthy, till purified by lustration, to be employed in the most ordinary functions of sacred worship [14].

It would require a volume completely to illustrate the salutary effects of this ancient and venerable superstition, which was distinguished above most other false religions; by the uncommon merit of doing much good, without seemingly occasioning any considerable harm to society. The Grecian tenets, while they inculcated profound respect to the gods, tended not to break the spirit, or to repress the courage, of their warlike votaries. The ancient heroes addressed their heavenly protectors in an erect posture, with the unfeigned sincerity of manly freedom. They expected to avert the calamities threatened by the anger of their divinities, not by inflicting on themselves

[13] See Iliad, iv. ver. 35. Iliad, xxii. ver. 347. Iliad, xxiv. ver. 212. [14] Homer, passim.

such

such tortures as could be acceptable only to the mean resentment of weak and wicked beings, but by repairing the wrongs which they had committed against their fellow-citizens, or compensating, by new attentions, for the neglect shown to the ceremonies of their national worship. In *their* estimation, the doing of injuries to men, and the omitting of prayer to the gods, were the principal causes of the Divine displeasure, the incurring of which, being justly considered as infinitely greater than all other misfortunes, they were solicitous to avert it, not only by an exact performance of external rites, but by a diligent practice of moral duties. The dangerous power of oracles, the abused privileges of asylums, the wild raptures of prophetic enthusiasm, the abominable ceremonies of the Bacchanalia, and the horrid practice of human sacrifice, circumstances which cover with deserved infamy the later periods of paganism, were all unknown to the good sense and purity of the heroic ages; nor is there to be discovered the smallest vestige of any of these wild or wicked inventions either in the writings of Homer, or of his contemporary Hesiod. CHAP. II.

The amiable simplicity of their religious system was communicated to the civil and military institutions of the Greeks, to the laws of nations as well as to the regulations of internal policy, and to the various duties of domestic as well as of social life. The sentiments of natural reason, supported by the supposed sanction of Divine authority, generally directed the conduct of men in the wide

CHAP. II.

variety of these complicated relations; and from one great and luminous principle, deeply impressed on the mind, there resulted an uniform system of unaffected propriety of conduct, the contemplation of which will always be agreeable to every taste that is not perverted by the false delicacy of artificial manners, or the illiberal prejudices of national vanity. In order to give the clearer explanation of the several parts of this beautiful system, we shall examine the political, the civil, and the domestic condition of the Greeks; that is, the relation of the governors to the governed, and of the governed to one another, whether considered as subjects of the same state, or as branches of the same family. We shall combine the effect of these relations with that of the ordinary occupations and favorite amusements of this celebrated people, and from the whole endeavour to deduce the general estimate of their virtues and defects, of their happiness and misery.

Political state of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The common observation, that power follows property, though not altogether correct [11], affords perhaps the best succedaneum to written laws, for determining the real strength and influence of the different members of society. If we examine by this rule the policies of the heroic ages, we shall find that they deserve the title of republics, rather than that of monarchies. When a warlike tribe

[11] The same property possessed by one, or by a few, confers much greater political consideration and influence, than it would confer if diffused among the multitude.

sallied from its woods and mountains, to take pos- CHAP. II.
session of a more fertile territory, the soldiers fought and conquered, not for their leaders, but for themselves [36]. The land acquired by their united valor was considered as a common property. It was cultivated by the joint labor and assiduity of all the members of the tribe, who assembled at a public table, celebrated together their religious rites, and, at the end of harvest, received their due shares of the annual produce of the ground, for the maintenance of their respective families [37]. Superior opulence gave not to one a title to despise an other, nor was there any distinction known among them, but what was occasioned by the difference of personal merit and abilities. This difference, however, had naturally raised a chief or leader to the head of every society; the frequent necessity of employing his valor, or his wisdom, rendered his merit more conspicuous and more useful; and his superior usefulness was rewarded, by the gratitude of his tribe, with a valuable portion of ground [38], separated from the common property. This was cultivated, not by the hands of his martial followers, who labored only for the community, but by the captives taken in war, of whom a considerable number were always bestowed on the

[36] The Odyssey furnishes innumerable proofs of the limited power of kings. Ulysses, on most occasions, puts himself on an equal footing with his followers. It is commonly decided by lot, whether he shall be one of those who undertake any adventure attended with fatigue and danger. Odyss. passim.

[37] Isocrat. in Archidam. [38] Iliad, l. xii. ver. 310.

CHAP. II. general [39]. Being accuſtomed to command in the field, and to direct the meaſures, as well as to decide the quarrels, of his aſſociates, he naturally became the judge of their civil differences; and, as the peculiar favor of the gods always attended on ſuperior virtue, he was alſo inveſted with the honorable office of preſiding in their religious ſolemnities. Theſe important functions of prieſt, judge, and general, which had naturally been conferred on the beſt and braveſt character of each particular tribe, were, upon the union of ſeveral tribes into one ſtate, or nation, conferred on the beſt and braveſt of all the different leaders. Before the various ſtates of Greece had united in a general confederacy, the reſources derived from the domains appropriated to the prince (which, unleſs there was ſome particular reaſon to the contrary, were tranſmitted to his deſcendants), had enabled the ſeveral kings and leaders to extend their influence and authority. Their comparative power and ſplendor did not entirely ariſe from the merit of perſonal abilities, but was determined in part by the extent and value of their poſſeſſions: and Agamemnon was appointed to the command of combined Greece, as much on account of his ſuperior opulence, as of his many princely qualities [40]. But whether we examine the pre-eminence that Agamemnon enjoyed over the other

[39] In the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Homer clearly diſtinguiſhes the domain of the king from the land of the community. Iliad, xviii. ver. 542.

[40] Thucydid. l. i.

princes of the confederacy, which is fully explained in the Iliad; or the authority with which each prince was inveſted in his own dommions, which is clearly illuſtrated in the Odyſſey; or the influence of a warlike chief over the ſeveral members of his tribe, which we have already endeavoured to delineate, we ſhall every where diſcover the limited power of kings, and the mild moderation of mixed government. As in the general confederacy, the councils [41] of princes controuled the reſolves of the monarch, and the voice of the aſſembly [42] was ſuperior to that of the council; ſo in each particular kingdom, the deciſions of the ſenate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majeſty of the people [43] governed the deciſions of the ſenate [44]. If we deſcend ſtill lower, we ſhall find the ſame diſtribution of power in every particular village [45], which afforded a picture, in miniature, of a kingdom, while a kingdom itſelf afforded a ſimilar picture of the whole confederacy.

CHAP. II.

[41] In matters of importance, Agamemnon is generally determined by the council of chiefs, many of whom, on various occaſions, treat him with little reſpect.

[42] It is referred to the general aſſembly, whether it would be better to return to Greece, or to proſecute the ſiege of Troy. Iliad, ii. ver. 110. See alſo Ariſt. Ethic. l. iii. c. v.

[43] Several of the nobles of Ithaca even aſpired to the crown. Odyſſ. 21.

[44] In the Odyſſey, Telemachus threatens to appeal to the public aſſembly, of the injuſtice of the ſuitors, among whom were the principal nobles of Ithaca.

[45] Plutarch in Theſeo. Odyſſ. ibid.

CHAP. II. Their civil regulations.

The ſame ſimplicity which regulated the political ſyſtem, maintained the civil rights of the Greeks. As the price of ſubmitting to the reſtraints of ſociety, a man was ſecured in the enjoyment of his life and property [46]; his moveables were equally divided, at his death, among his deſcendants; and the unnatural right of primogeniture, which, in order to enrich the eldeſt ſon, reduces the reſt of the family to want and miſery, was altogether unknown to the equal ſpirit of the Grecian inſtitutions [47]. Cauſes reſpecting property were decided by the firſt magiſtrate, or by judges of delegated authority. The proſecution of murderers belonged to the relations of the deceaſed; they might accept a compenſation in money for the loſs which the family had ſuſtained [48]; but if this was not tendered them by the criminal, or if their reſentment was too violent to admit of any ſuch compoſition, they were entitled to the aſſiſtance of all the members of their tribe, who either puniſhed the murderer by death, or compelled him to leave the ſociety [49]. Theſe uſages, doubtleſs, prove the ideas of the Greeks, concerning criminal juriſdiction, to have

[46] Iliad, xii. Pind. Pyth. Ode iv.

[47] Odyſſ. xiv. If there were no children, the neareſt relations, by the father's ſide, divided the immoveable property: αποζωμενοι δε δια κτησιν δατεονται χηρωσαι. Heſiod. Theogon. The ſame obſervation is made by Homer, Iliad, v; but there is no mention of ſucceſſion to land or moveable property.

[48] Iliad, ix. Ajax blames the obſtinacy of Achilles, who refuſes ſuch compenſation for an affront, as a man ſometimes accepted for the murder of a ſon or a brother.

[49] There are examples of this in the 14th, 15th, and 23d Iliad.

been very rude and imperfect: But this diſadvantage was in ſome meaſure compenſated by their ignorance of thoſe legal cruelties, which in civilized nations are too frequently exerciſed, under the ſpecious pretence of juſtice. "In later times," ſays Thucydides, "puniſhments became more "ſevere, but crimes were not, on this account, "leſs frequent." The powerful or wealthy offender (he might have added) frequently eluded the vengeance of thoſe ſevere laws; whereas in the heroic ages, there was not any reſpect of perſons, princes themſelves being ſubject to the ſame moderate penalties [50], which were juſtly inflicted on their offending ſubjects. CHAP. II.

Regulations reſpecting the duties of domeſtic life.

The perfection of civil and political inſtitutions, which was produced in Greece by the influence of religion, is found in moſt countries to be proportional to their improvements in arts, and their attainments in knowledge; while the happy effects of domeſtic union are frequently moſt numerous and moſt conſiderable among the rudeſt and leaſt cultivated nations. The reciprocal duties of the governor and governed, as well as the mutual obligations of ſubjects, are gradually unfolded and enlarged by the progreſſive ideas of utility; but the tender connexions of huſband and wife, of father

[50] Thus Midon, the brother of Ajax, was obliged to fly to Phylace, Il. xv. Patroclus, for a ſimilar offence, took refuge with the father of Achilles, Il. 23. Pauſanias (in Eliac.) gives examples of the ſame kind in two kings of the Ætolians; and theſe facts are agreeable to the nature of the kingly office in the heroic ages, as deſcribed by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. ii. Hiſt. Rom.

CHAP. II.

and ſon, of brothers and kinſmen, excite, without reflection, the warmeſt feelings of the heart, and at once inſpire the affectionate ſentiments of love and friendſhip, of kindneſs and gratitude. The dictates of nature alone ſufficiently maintain the duties which correſpond to the ſeveral relations of blood; her voice is ſtrong and poſitive, in aſſerting *their* obligation; and there is greater danger that theſe ſacred ties ſhould be weakened, or perverted, by the artificial refinements of poliſhed life, than that their influence ſhould continue altogether unknown, or be feebly felt, in the early periods of ſociety.

Agreeably to theſe obſervations, we find in the hiſtory of the heroic ages, the moſt intereſting pictures of conjugal love, of parental affection, and of filial duty. Theſe ſentiments, ſuggeſted by nature, and confirmed by reaſon, were ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the precepts of religion; and their force, thus augmented, became ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible, that it can ſcarcely be conceived by men, among whom faſhion, and vanity, and intereſt, have uſurped the place of more generous and manly principles.

The comforts of a family were anciently conſidered as equal to the benefits derived from ſocial union. To be deſtitute of the one, was deemed no leſs miſerable than to be deprived of the other. And the total baſeneſs of a man's character was expreſſed by ſaying, that he deſerved not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, the protection of a ſubject, or the happineſs of domeſtic life [51].

[51] Αφρητωρ αθεμιστος ανεστιος εστ' εκεινος. Iliad, paſſim.

CHAP. II. Marriage.

Marriage was a neceſſary ſtep in order to attain this happineſs, and the inſtitution of marriage was aſcribed by remote tradition to the bounty of the gods. The Greeks of the heroic ages, among whom the rights of weakneſs and beauty were as much reſpected as they afterwards were deſpiſed by their degenerate deſcendants, celebrated the conjugal union with all the pomp of religious feſtivity. The joyous band, carrying the nuptial torches, marched in pomp through the city, to the ſound of the hymeneal ſong [52]; the luſtral waters were drawn from the ſacred fountain Calliroe, and many revered ceremonies rendered the connexion of huſband and wife equally reſpectable and binding [53].

Adultery was conſidered as a crime of the blackeſt die, and is always mentioned with the ſame horror as murder. Perſons guilty of theſe atrocious enormities purchaſed impunity [54], and more frequently eſcaped death, by voluntary baniſhment; but in many caſes they were puniſhed by the united vengeance of the tribe which had received the injury. Second nuptials were not abſolutely forbidden, but ſo ſtrong and ſacred was the matrimonial tie, that even the death of one of the parties was ſcarcely thought ſufficient to diſſolve it, and the ſurvivor, by entering into a new connexion, ſuffered a dimi-

[52] Iliad, l. xxiii.

[53] Thucydides, l. ii. Meurſius Feriæ Græcæ, and the authors there cited.

[54] Odyſſ. viii.

CHAP. II.

Rank of women in the heroic ages.

tution of fame, and submitted to a considerable degradation of character [55].

Two circumstances chiefly have rendered it difficult to explain the rank and condition of women in the heroic ages. The Greek word denoting a wife, is borrowed from a quality which equally applies to a concubine, and the same term is used indifferently to express both. But the women who in ancient Greece submitted to the infamy of prostitution, were generally captives taken in war, who were reduced by the cruel right of arms to the miserable condition of servitude. Hence it has been erroneously inferred, that in ancient Greece, wives as well as concubines were the slaves of their husbands. This mistaken notion, it has been attempted to confirm, not only by insisting on the humiliating condition of the fair sex in the later ages of Greece, but by expressly asserting, that, in ancient times, they were purchased by their husbands [56]. But this is to support one error by another. Before entering into the state of wedlock, it was customary for a man to make a mutual exchange of presents with his intended father-in law. The Greeks had particular terms to express the present which he bestowed, as well as that which he received [57]. The former, which has no corresponding term in the modern languages, is transl-

[55] Penelope was restrained from marrying a second husband: αἰδόμενον, ἔνθεν πόσιος, δήμου τε φόβον τε. Il. xv.

[56] Lord Kaimes's Sketches. Thomas sur la Condition des Femmes, etc.

[57] Ἔδνα.

lated by the more general word "price," which has given rise to the false notion of the purchase and servitude of women; but the latter, which may with propriety be translated "dower," was given as a provision for the wife, both during marriage and after its dissolution[58], and was sufficient to deliver her from that supposed state of dependence on the husband, which never had any existence but in the imagination of the systematic writers of the present age. CHAP. II.

In the modern countries of Europe, women are generally excluded from the serious occupations of life, but admitted to an equal share in its gayest amusements. During the heroic ages, they were not absolutely debarred from the former, although it was impossible to associate their natural delicacy and timidity to the warlike labors and pleasures which formed the principal employments of their husbands. The intercourse between the sexes, therefore, was less frequent and general, than would suit the refined softness of modern manners.

The attention of women was chiefly confined to domestic cares, or to the practice of such arts as required neither strength, nor courage, nor wisdom, but only the patient exertions of mechanical dexterity[59]. Our natural respect for the honor of the sex is offended at hearing them as much

Their occupations and amusements.

[58] Προίξ.

[59] Odyss. ii. Telemachus says, that if his mother should be sent from the house, he would be obliged to return her dower to her father Icarius.

[60] Homer, passim.

CHAP. II.

extolled for their ſkill in the labors of the loom, as for their beauty and virtue; but it deſerves to be conſidered, that weaving and embroidery being, like all other arts, leſs extenſively diffuſed in Greece than in improved commercial countries, were on this account more highly valued, and therefore better adapted to confer diſtinction on thoſe who excelled in them. They were practiſed by ladies of the higheſt rank, and even by queens, who alſo thought it an honor to be intruſted with the education of their children, till they became fit for the ſociety of their fathers[61]. Beſides theſe employments, the women were permitted to join in celebration of religious rites and ceremonies, and many of them were conſecrated to the ſervice of particular divinities[62]. In the ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they mixed more freely than on ordinary occaſions in the ſociety of the other ſex. This was ſometimes attended with ſuch inconveniences as might naturally be expected to ariſe in conſequence of the uſual reſtraints impoſed on their behaviour. "The beautiful Polymela," ſays Homer[63], "dancing in the chorus of Diana, was "embraced by Mercury; but ſhe had no ſooner "brought forth a ſon, than one of the principal "citizens offered her his hand." The inſtitutions of the heroic ages promoted, with admirable

[61] Thus, Thetis educated Achilles. Heſiod ſays poetically, that in the age of ſilver, the children continued, during an infancy of an hundred years, under the care of their mothers.

[62] Theano was prieſteſs of Vulcan, etc. Iliad. [63] Iliad, xvi.

propriety, the modeſt reſerve of women, while they permitted not one excuſable error to cover an amiable character with indelible infamy. The crime of having too tender an heart was not deemed inexpiable; and, as the conſequences of female weakneſs were imputed to the affectionate ardor of ſome amorous divinity, they were ſo far from obſcuring the charms of beauty, that they adorned it with new graces and more conſpicuous ſplendor.

Conjugal love.

The ſimplicity of the ancient Greeks was equally remote from the cruel tyranny of ſavages, which condemns women to ſervitude, and the intereſted refinement of luxury and vice, which regards them as mere inſtruments of pleaſure. The natural equality between the ſexes ſuggeſted by the voice of ſentiment, aſſerted by the dictates of reaſon, and confirmed by the precepts of religion, produced the moſt delicate affections that can inſpire a ſuſceptible heart: hence thoſe moving ſcenes ſo admirably delineated by Homer, which retrace the moſt perfect image of domeſtic felicity; hence thoſe pleaſing pains, thoſe anxious ſolicitudes of tenderneſs and love, which frequently degenerate into melancholy preſages of the loſs of an union to which nothing was wanting but that it ſhould prove immortal[44].

Parental affection.

The ſentiments of parental affection were proportionably ſtrong and ardent with thoſe of conjugal love. The mutual tenderneſs of the huſband

[44] See the interview of Hector and Andromache, and other examples. Iliad, ix. and Odyſſ. vi.

CHAP. II.

and wife was communicated to their offspring; while the father viewed in his child the charms of its mother, and the mother perceived in it the manly graces of its father. Independently of the delicacy of ſentiments, there are, doubtleſs, in all countries, ſavage and civilized, innumerable inſtances of paternal kindneſs, which, indeed, is the moſt ſimple and natural expanſion of ſelf-love. But in the heroic ages alone, we find ſincere and complete returns of filial duty. In the loweſt ſtate of ſavage life men are, for the moſt part, little acquainted with this reſpectful affection: they fear and obey, but without any mixture of love, thoſe who are wiſer and ſtronger than themſelves. When they become wiſe and ſtrong in their turn, they diſregard the trembling hand that reared their tender years, or if any faint emotions of gratitude are feebly felt, they diſcover them in the prepoſterous kindneſs of delivering their aged parents from what appears to their own juvenile impatience the wretched load of life[61]. Among nations, on the other hand, who are ſunk in the corruptions incident to exceſſive luxury and refinement, the ties of nature are perverted or effaced; the young deſpiſe the admonitions, and avoid the company of the aged; and the duties, as well as the buſineſs of ſociety, are degraded into a miſerable traffic of intereſt or pleaſure. But as the Greeks had emerged from the melancholy gloom of the firſt ſituation, and had not yet declined into the foul

Duties of children.

[61] Voyage du Pere Charlevoix. Laſitau Mœurs des Sauvages.

vapors of the ſecond, they diſplayed the meridian ſplendor of the domeſtic virtues [66]. The reverence of children for their parents approached their veneration for the gods. The moſt violent and impetuous heroes ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the ſevereſt dictates of paternal authority. In ſuch delicate concerns as might ſeem to affect themſelves alone, they relinquiſhed their favorite inclinations, diſavowed any will of their own, and committed their deareſt concerns to the experienced wiſdom and known goodneſs of their fathers. The amiable expreſſions of filial reſpect were extended into a more general ſentiment of regard for the infirm and aged. Even among brothers who were nearly of the ſame age, the younger was obliged to yield in every inſtance to the elder; and it was an acknowledged principle of religion, that the Furies defended, by their ſtern authority, the ſacred rights of ſuperior years [67].

Occupations of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The occupations of the ancient Greeks, whether of war or peace, were, for the moſt part, directed by the ſame ſacred influence which governed their behaviour in the various relations of domeſtic and ſocial life. War was their principal employment; and in the field they both diſplayed their nobleſt qualities, and diſcovered the greateſt defects of their character. They were unacquainted

State of the military art among them.

[66] There is, perhaps, no other language that can expreſs, without a circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by θρεπτα, the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents.

[67] Πρεσβυτεροις ἐριννυες αιεν ἑπονται. Homer, paſſim.

CHAP. II.

with thoſe diſciplined evolutions which give harmony and concert to numerous bodies of men, and enable whole armies to move with the activity and addreſs of ſingle combatants. What was wanting in ſkill they ſupplied by courage. They marched to the field in a deep phalanx, ruſhed impetuouſly to the attack, and bravely cloſed with their enemies. Each warrior was firmly buckled with his antagoniſt, and compelled by neceſſity to the ſame exertions of valor, as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his ſingle arm. Their principal weapon was the ſpear reſembling the Roman pilum, which, thrown by the nervous and well-directed vigor of a ſteady hand, often penetrated the firmeſt ſhields and bucklers. When they miſſed their aim, or when the ſtroke proved ineffectual through want of force, they drew their ſwords, and, ſummoning their utmoſt reſolution, darted impetuouſly on the foe. This mode of war was common to the ſoldiers and generals, the latter being as much diſtinguiſhed in the day of action by their ſtrength and courage, as by their ſkill and conduct. The Greeks had bows, and ſlings, and darts, intended for the practice of diſtant hoſtility, but the uſe of theſe weapons, which were much employed in the military paſtimes of the heroic ages, was confined in the field to warriors of inferior renown [a]. Their defenſive armour was remarkably complete: a bright

[a] Teucer is more than once upbraided in the Iliad as a vain archer.

helmet,

helmet, adorned with plumes, covered the head and face, a firm corslet defended the breast, greaves of brass descended to the feet, and an ample shield loosely attached to the shoulders turned in all directions, and opposed its firm resistance to every hostile assault. CHAP. II.

The close compact combats of the Greeks were fitted to excite the most furious passions of the heart, and to embitter national animosity by personal hatred and revenge. A battle consisted of so many duels, which exasperated to the utmost the hostility of the contending parties; each soldier knew the antagonist from whom he had received, or on whom he had inflicted the severest injuries. They fought with all the keenness of resentment, and often sullied the honors of victory by those licentious cruelties which are too natural to men in the giddy moment of triumph over a detested adversary. The effect of their military regulations on manners.

It is partly to this unfortunate circumstance, and partly to the ancient mode of appropriating the warlike plunder to those who first acquired it, that we are to ascribe the shocking enormities which were sometimes committed by the bravest and most generous of the Grecian chiefs.

That the severities exercised towards the conquered proceeded not from the barbarism of the age, and an ignorance of the rights of humanity, is plain from the observances deemed necessary, in order to obtain the favor of the gods, in carrying on any military expedition, or in enjoying the fruits of victory. These observances, which were Laws of war.

CHAP. II. confirmed by the laws of nations among the Greeks, were practiſed before the commencement of hoſtilities, during their continuance, and after their concluſion. Before any war could be lawfully undertaken, it was neceſſary to diſpatch ambaſſadors, who might explain the injury that had been done, demand immediate and complete ſatisfaction, and if this was refuſed, denounce in form the reſolution of their community, to proſecute its claim by force of arms [69]. After they had begun to execute their fatal purpoſe, the characters of heralds, thoſe ſacred miniſters of kings, were equally reſpected by friends and foes. They travelled in ſafety through the midſt of embattled hoſts, proclaimed to the ſilent warriors the commiſſions with which they were intruſted, or demanded a truce for burying the dead, which could not be refuſed without the moſt enormous impiety [70]. The uſe of poiſoned weapons [71] was forbidden, under pain of the divine diſpleaſure. It was agreeable to the will of the gods that the life ſhould be ſpared, when a ſufficient ranſom was promiſed [72]. And after a treaty of peace was concluded between hoſtile nations, without any apparent ratification but the honor of the contracting parties, the perfidious wretches who betrayed the ſanctity of their engagements, were devoted, amidſt

[69] See chap. i. p. 43. [70] Homer, paſſim.

[71] Ilus refuſed Ulyſſes poiſoned arrows, ſince he revered the immortal gods,

Εκ γὰρ νεμεσίζετο δῖος ἀπὸ ἑκάτοιο. Odyſſ.

[72] Iliad, l. 3. Iliad. vi. 24.

ſolemn ſacrifices and libations, to the fury of the terrible goddeſſes [73].

Arts of peace.

From the arts of peace, the Greeks had acquired the neceſſaries, and procured the accommodations, but had not obtained the luxuries of life. Paſturage and agriculture ſupplied them with the moſt indiſpenſable articles of food, and with the principal materials of clothing. The implements of huſbandry were extremely imperfect; the plough itſelf, the moſt uſeful of them all, being compoſed entirely of wood [74], which aroſe rather from the ſcarcity of iron, than from any defect of mechanical ingenuity [75]. They employed, in the time of Heſiod, the invention of ſhears, for depriving the ſheep of their wool, having formerly waited the ſeaſon of its annual ſeparation by nature [76]. Barley was the principal produce of their fields, and furniſhed the ordinary food both of men and of horſes. The invention of mills was unknown, and the grain underwent ſeveral tedious operations, in order to facilitate the bruiſing of it between two large ſtones with the hand [77]. Although the Greeks cultivated the olive, they were unacquainted with the benefit derived from the fruit of this plant, ſo well adapted to cheer the melancholy gloom of night [78]. The Grecian ſoil

State of agriculture.

[73] Iliad, iii. [74] Heſiod, Oper. et Dies. [75] Homer, paſſim.
[76] Heſiod, ibid. [77] Plin. l. xviii. c. xiv.
[78] The Greeks had not diſcovered any other contrivance for that purpoſe, than the burning of great fires of wood. The torches mentioned by Homer conſiſted of branches of any reſinous tree, ſplit at the end, and lighted at the fire. Odyſſ. l. vi. ver. 307. l. xviii. ver. 306. et ver. 309.

CHAP. II.

was naturally favorable to the grape; but the long and operoſe proceſs by which the juice of it was ſeparated and prepared, rendered wine ſcarce and dear [79].

Mechanic arts.

Of the mechanic arts, weaving was the beſt underſtood; yet this, as well as all the other profeſſions which are qualified by the appellation of ſedentary, were practiſed by the Greeks ſtanding upright [80]; which ſeems to indicate an imperfect ſtate of improvement. The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the ſaw, the ſquare, and the compaſs [81]. The art of cutting marble, which afterwards furniſhed Grecian ingenuity with the materials of thoſe inimitable productions which are ſtill the wonder of the world, was as yet undiſcovered; nor did the poliſhed luſtre of this valuable ſtone adorn the habitations of the Greeks [82].

Fine arts. Architecture.

Homer mentions not the orders of architecture, which were invented in a later age; and pillars are the only ornaments aſſigned to the edifices which he deſcribes. The houſes of the great were ſurrounded by a wall, that conſiſted of two floors; the lower of which was diſtributed into four apartments, which we have tranſlated by the names of

[79] Odyſſ. l. vii. ver. 122. [80] Euſtach. in Iliad. l. ver. 31.

[81] Odyſſ. l. v. ver. 234, etc.

[82] In the palace of Alcinous, which ſhone with gold, ſilver, braſs, and amber, there is no mention of marble. Odyſſ. l. iv. ver. 72.

hall [83], portico, antichamber, and bedchamber, which expreſs the ſame relative ſituation, rather than any other point of reſemblance. The roofs were flat, and the doors opened towards the ſurrounding wall, while the gates of the wall itſelf opened towards the road or ſtreet [84]. The invention of enamelling metals had been cultivated with ſingular ſucceſs: and though painting, properly ſo called, was rude and unformed during the age of Homer, the genius of the divine poet has deſcribed the rudiments of his kindred art with ſuch graces as would adorn [85] its moſt refined ſtate of

Painting.

[83] Η ταὐλὶς ἅπασα; ἔχος περὶ ὁ πυλαι, μετα δε το ἐρκιον αὐλη, μετα δὲ ταύτην, αἰθουσα, ὁ προδομος, και θαλαμος. Pollux Onomaſt.

[84] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 441.

[85] The nobler kinds of painting are all illuſtrated in the ſhield of Achilles; and each picture diſcovers a wonderful degree of *invention*, *expreſſion*, and *compoſition*. Iliad, xviii. Perrault and Terraſſon, who thought it impoſſible to place ſo many pictures in the circumference of a ſhield, were anſwered by Boivin, who ſuppoſed a great many concentric circles. This opinion was adopted by Pope, who pretends that all the branches of painting, even aerial perſpective, may be found in Homer's ſhield. "That he was no ſtranger to aerial "perſpective, appears from his expreſsly marking the diſtance from "object to object," etc. But this obſervation only proves that Pope, who practiſed painting, was little acquainted with the theory of that art; ſince aerial perſpective has nothing to do with the diminution of objects in proportion to their diſtance, and relates entirely to the changing and weakening of colors, according to the condition of the medium through which they are ſeen. The objections of Perrault and Terraſſon, and the concentric circles of Boivin, are equally frivolous. The ſhield of Homer contains, in fact, but ten pictures. The enumeration by the particles μεν and δε fixes the number. But the poet not only deſcribes theſe ten pictures actually repreſented on the ſhield, but alſo mentions their antecedents and conſequents. This is the chief ſuperiority of poetical imitation above painting, that it can deſcribe, in a few pages, what many galleries of pictures could not repreſent. But of this more hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Muſic.

perfection. Muſic was much practiſed among the early Greeks. It was not of the learned kind, and therefore the better adapted to touch the heart. The effects aſcribed to it are wonderful, but not incredible, becauſe the ancient muſic was not merely an agreeable ſucceſſion of melodious, unmeaning ſounds, but an imitation and a heightening of the ſimple, natural, and pathetic tones and cadences of a beautiful and expreſſive language [a].

Sciences.

In the heroic ages men had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the ſpeculative ſciences. All the knowledge that they poſſeſſed or eſteemed was of the practical kind. From arithmetic they learned ſuch ſimple calculations as ſuited the narrow ſphere of their tranſactions. Aſtronomy taught them to obſerve the conſtellations moſt neceſſary to direct the adventurous courſe of the mariner; but their navigation was ſtill ſo imperfect that they ſeldom abandoned the coaſts; and the only ſtars mentioned by Homer are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star. The metaphyſics, ethics, and politics of the ancient Greeks have been explained under the article of religion, from which they were originally derived, and with which they long continued to be inſeparably connected.

Education.

The main objects propoſed in the education of the young warriors, were, that they ſhould learn to excel in the military exerciſes of the age, eſpecially thoſe of

[a] Odyſſ. iii. ver. 267, et paſſim. This ſubject will be treated fully hereafter.

throwing the lance and of driving the chariot, and to command the attention of the ſenate, or aſſembly, by delivering their opinion in a perſpicuous, elegant, and manly ſtyle [87].

Ordinary amuſements of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

It was not only in the council and in the field that theſe ſuperior accompliſhments ſolicited and obtained their well-merited rewards. Each community preſented, in time of peace, the picture of a large family. The Greeks lived in continual ſociety with their equals, enjoyed common pleaſures and amuſements, and had daily opportunities of diſplaying their uſeful talents in the ſight of their fellow-citizens. The frequent diſputes between individuals occaſioned litigations and trials, which furniſhed employment for the eloquence and abilities of men, in the neceſſary defence of their friends. The funeral games, and thoſe celebrated in commemoration of ſeveral important events, both of a civil and ſacred kind, opened a continual ſource of entertainment. There the young and vigorous contended in the rapid race; wielded the maſſy cæſtus or ponderous quoit; and exerted equal efforts of ſtrength and ſkill in the other manly exerciſes which confirm the vigor of the body, and the fortitude of the mind. Nor were the aged and infirm allowed to languiſh for want of proper objects to rouſe their emulation, to flatter their pride, and to employ their remaining activity. It belonged to them to offer their wiſe counſels, to interpoſe their reſpected authority,

[87] Μυθων τε ρητηρ' εμεναι πρηκτηρα τε εργων.

CHAP. II.

and to decide the quarrels, as well as to determine the merit, of the young candidates for fame. The applauſe and rewards beſtowed on him whoſe counſels and deciſions were moſt generally approved, conſoled the weakneſs of his declining years, while his rivals, though diſappointed for the preſent, expected, on ſome future occaſion, to obtain the ſame honorable marks of the public eſteem [88].

Eſtimate of the Grecian manners and character during the heroic ages.

After this general review of the Grecian manners and inſtitutions, ſhould we endeavour to eſtimate their value, they would probably riſe in our eſteem, by being compared, either with the rude cuſtoms of ſavage life, or with the artificial refinements of poliſhed ſociety. The Greeks had advanced beyond that uniform inſipidity of deportment, that ſullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened inſenſibility of heart, which univerſally characterize the ſavage ſtate. They ſtill poſſeſſed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble ſpirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger and death, which render the deſcription of the wild tribes of America ſo intereſting to a philoſophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, ſtudy and converſation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the conſolations and pleaſure of the firſt, the want of which was compenſated by the ſincerity, the confidence, the charms of the ſecond. Their ſocial affections were leſs comprehenſive in

[88] Iliad, xviii. Ibid, xxiii.

their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than thoſe of poliſhed nations. A generous chief ruſhes to certain death, to revenge the cauſe of his friend; yet refuſes to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy conſolation of interring the remains of his favorite ſon; till the correſponding image of his own father ſtrikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity [89]. The imaginary wants and artificial paſſions which are ſo neceſſary to urge the hand of induſtry, and to vary the purſuits of men, in improved commercial ſocieties, were ſupplied to the Greeks by that exceſſive ſenſibility, which intereſted them ſo deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends, and which connected them by the feelings of gratitude even with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the ſame diverſity of employments, ſo neither were they fatigued with the ſame giddy round of diſſipated pleaſures which augment the ſplendid miſery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the preſent age, they had diſcovered one of ineſtimable value, to render the great duties of life its moſt entertaining amuſement. It will not, perhaps, be eaſy to point out a nation who united a more complete ſubordination to eſtabliſhed authority with a higher ſenſe of perſonal independence, and a more reſpectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent ſpirit of martial enterpriſe. The

CHAP. II.

[89] Iliad, xxiv.

CHAP. II. generous equality of their political eſtabliſhments, and their imagined intercourſe with the gods, conſpired to raiſe them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent, in Sparta, by the famous laws commonly aſcribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the ſubſequent chapter, were almoſt exact copies of the cuſtoms and inſtitutions that univerſally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages.

CHAP. III.

Diſtracted State of Greece. — The Heracleidæ conduct the Dorians into Peloponneſus. — Divide their Conqueſts in that Peninſula. — The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations. — Eſtabliſhment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia. — Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Aſia on the Affairs of the Mother Country. — The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece. — New Diſorders in that Country. — Four inſtitutions which tended to remove them. — The Amphictyonic Council. — The Oracle of Delphi. — The Olympic Games. — The Spartan Laws.

CHAP. III. State of Greece after the Trojan war.

GREECE triumphed over Troy, but it was a melancholy triumph. The calamities of war were followed by diſaſters at ſea, by diſcord among the chiefs, by ruin to the confederacy; yet theſe evils were leſs afflicting than the inteſtine animoſities and ſedition excited by the licence of the people, and fomented by the ambition of the nobles during the long and unfortunate abſence of their kings. The victorious Agamemnon had ſcarce ſet foot on his native land, when he was cut off by an adulterous ſpouſe and a perfidious aſſaſſin [a]. His ſon Oreſtes found protection in Athens againſt the reſentment of an uſurper. In

[a] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 29.

CHAP. III.

the eighth year of his exile he returned with his partiſans, and took juſt vengeance on the abominable Egyſtheus and Clytemneſtra [a]. He reigned in Argos, but with far leſs glory than his father; nor did that kingdom ever thenceforth aſſume its ancient pre-eminence.

Weakneſs of that country during the four ſucceeding centuries. From A. C. 1184 till 776.

The wanderings and woes of Ulyſſes are too well known to be deſcribed [b]. His patient fortitude regained the kingdom of Ithaca, but not without wading through the blood of his moſt illuſtrious ſubjects [c]. If hiſtory minutely recorded the domeſtic feuds which prevailed in other ſtates, it would probably exhibit a diſguſting picture of fraud and cruelty, and a continual repetition of ſimilar crimes and calamities would equally fatigue the attention, and offend the humanity, of the modern reader. But though it would be neither entertaining nor uſeful to deſcribe the particular and tranſitory conſequences of theſe diſorders, it is of importance to remark their general and laſting tendency to prolong the weakneſs of Greece; whoſe obſcure tranſactions, during the four following centuries, ill correſpond with the ſplendor of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic, expedition.

Hiſtory of that period obſcure.

The hiſtory of this long period is very confuſedly and imperfectly related by ancient authors, and the chronology is throughout very inaccurately aſcertained; yet ſuch events as are either intereſting in themſelves, or had any permanent influence on the

[a] Odyſſ. l. iii. ver. 196. and ver. 305, et ſeq.
[b] Odyſſ. paſſim. [c] Odyſſ. l. xxii. ver. 390, et ſeq.

memorable ages of Greece, which form the ſubject of the preſent work, may be clearly explained, and reduced to a narrow compaſs. In order to preſerve an unbroken narrative, we muſt conſider three ſeries of events, which naturally followed each other, and which all tended to the ſame goal. In this view, we ſhall firſt examine the migrations of different tribes or communities within the narrow bounds of Greece; ſecondly, the eſtabliſhment of new colonies in many diſtant parts of Europe as well as of Aſia and Africa; and thirdly, the internal changes produced in the ſeveral ſtates, by their adopting, almoſt univerſally, the republican, inſtead of the monarchical, form of government[5]. In the fluctuation of theſe commotions we muſt, then, ſeek for the ſeeds of order and ſtability, and endeavour to trace, amidſt extenſive migrations, general revolutions, and unceaſing hoſtilities, the origin and improvement of thoſe ſingular inſtitutions which tended to unite, to poliſh, and to adorn the ſcattered and ſtill ſpreading branches of the Grecian race through every part of the world.

CHAP. III.

Diviſion of the ſubject.

The migrations, which ſoon followed the Trojan expedition, are mentioned but not explained by hiſtorians. Their general cauſe may be diſcovered in Homer, whoſe poems, no leſs inſtructive than agreeable, can alone enable us to travel with equal ſecurity and pleaſure in the dark regions of Grecian antiquity. Domeſtic diſſenſion, and, ſtill more, the unſettled tenure of landed property, as deſcribed

Migrations of the Hellenic tribes or communities

[5] Velleius Patercul. l. i.

CHAP. III.

by that immortal poet, naturally engaged the Grecian tribes, notwithſtanding their acquaintance with agriculture, often to change their reſpective habitations. The idea of a ſeparate property in land is the principal tie which binds men to particular diſtricts. The avarice of individuals is unwilling to relinquiſh the fields, which it has been the great object of their induſtry to cultivate and to adorn, and their pride is averſe to a ſeparation from their hereditary eſtabliſhments. Theſe paſſions, which cover the black heaths and inhoſpitable mountains of the north with fair and populous cities, while far more inviting regions of the earth ſtill remain deſtitute of inhabitants, could not have much influence on a people, who regarded land as the property of the public, rather than of individuals. In ſuch a nation, men are connected with the territory which they inhabit, only as members of a particular community, and when expoſed to any ſlight inconvenience at home, or allured by fairer proſpects from abroad, they iſſue forth with one accord to acquire, by their united valor, more ſecure or more agreeable ſettlements. Governed by motives of this kind, a tribe of Bœotians, ſoon after the Trojan war, ſeized the rich vale of Theſſalian Arné. The ſame reſtleſs ſpirit urged a warlike band of Theſſalians to quit the ſeats of their anceſtors. The new emigrants poured down with irreſiſtible violence on the unprepared Bœotians, who were thus reluctantly compelled, ſixty years after the taking of

In the north of Greece. A. C. 1124.

Troy, to rejoin their brethren in the ancient kingdom of Cadmus [6].

CHAP. III.

The descendants of Hercules conduct the Dorians into the Peloponnesus. A. C. 1104.

Twenty years after this event, a more extensive migration totally changed the affairs of the Peloponnesus; and, in its consequences, gave new inhabitants to the whole western coast of Asia Minor. The rival families of Perseus and Pelops anciently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninsula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed; but their superiority led them rather to persecute, than to forgive, their enemies. The descendants and partisans of the great Hercules, the most illustrious hero of the Perseid line, were divested of their possessions, and driven into banishment. The exiles were first received by the Athenians, whose more humane, or more enlarged policy, rendered Attica, ever since the reign of Theseus, the ordinary resource of the miserable [7]. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius, the aged king of Doris; and the death of their benefactor soon made the Heracleidæ masters of that mountainous province [8]. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnassus were little fitted to satisfy men, whose ancestors had enjoyed far more valuable possessions. Their natural ambition was long repressed by the growing greatness of the Pelopidæ, and the glory of Agamemnon. After the unexpected disasters of that prince, they twice attempted, unsuccessfully, to break through the Corinthian isthmus, and to

[6] Thucydid. l. i. p. 9 and 10. Diodor. l. iv. Strabo, l. ix. p. 630. Pausan. l. ix. c. xl.

[7] Lysias Orat. Funeb.

[8] Strabo, l. ix. p. 427.

CHAP. III.

recover their ancient dominion in Argos and Lacedæmon [9].

Their auxiliaries in that enterprise.

Inſtructed by paſt miſcarriages, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, deſcendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, finally abandoned the hopeleſs deſign of entering the Peloponneſus by land. But determining to uſe every exertion for regaining their hereditary eſtabliſhments, they ſet themſelves, with great induſtry, to prepare tranſports in a convenient harbour, at the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulph, which, in conſequence of this tranſaction, received, and thenceforth retained, the name of Naupactus. The warlike and rapacious Ætolians, whoſe leader Oxylus was nearly related to the family of Hercules, readily aſſiſted their labors, with a view to ſhare the booty that might accrue from the expedition. The Dorians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of mount Pindus, cheerfully deſerted the gloomy ſolitude of their woods, in order to ſeek poſſeſſions in a more agreeable and better cultivated country. Animated by theſe reinforcements, the Heracleidæ redoubled their diligence. All neceſſary preparations were made for the invaſion; yet their confidence in arms excluded not the uſe of artifice. By ſecret intrigues they gained a party in Lacedæmon; and, before ſetting ſail, they prudently detached a body of light armed troops, whoſe appearance at the Iſthmus drew the ſtrength of the enemy towards that quarter [10]. Meanwhile their armament was

They take poſſeſſion of five provinces in that peninſula.

[9] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. Apollodor. l. iii. c. v. et vi.

[10] Pauſan. l. ii. c. xviii.

carried

carried by a favorable gale towards the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. The Heracleidæ landed their followers without oppoſition, and aſſailed the defenceleſs territories, to which they had long laid claim, comprehending the whole peninſula, except the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime diſtrict of Achaia. The five other provinces were conquered at the ſame time; though by different means. Laconia was betrayed to the invaders [11]. Argos acknowledged their authority; Corinth, Elis, and Meſſenia ſubmitted to their arms. The revolution was complete, and effected with little bloodſhed, but not without great oppreſſion of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, and many were reduced to ſlavery [12].

CHAP. III. A. C. 1104

The Heracleidæ, agreeably to the cuſtom of that age, divided their new acquiſitions by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the ſhare of Temenus; Creſphontes obtained Meſſenia; and, as Ariſtodemus then happened to die, Laconia was ſet apart for his infant ſons, the twin-brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles. Corinth was beſtowed on their kinſman Aletes; and Elis given to Oxylus, their brave Ætolian ally [13]. This diſtribution, however, referred only to the royal dignity, then extremely limited, and to an appropriated domain to the ſeveral princes in their reſpective allotments. The reſt of the territory was divided among the warlike

Diviſion of their conqueſts.

[11] Strabo, l. viii. p. 364.

[12] Herodot. l. vi. c. lii. Polyb. l. ii. p. 178. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383. Pauſan. Argolic. et Iſocrat. Panathen.

[13] Pauſan. ibid.

CHAP. III.

Dorians and Ætolians, who had conquered for themſelves, not for their leaders [14]; and who, having over-run, without oppoſition, the fineſt provinces of the Peloponneſus, could not willingly return to lead a life of hardſhip and miſery on their native mountains.

Fate of the expelled princes of thoſe countries.

Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedæmon were ſubject to Tiſamenus, grandſon of Agamemnon; Meſſenia was governed by Melanthus, a deſcendant of the celebrated Neſtor. Theſe princes had not ſo far degenerated from the glory of their anceſtors, as to ſubmit to become ſubjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the firſt falſe alarm of invaſion occaſioned by the appearance of light troops at the Iſthmus, Tiſamenus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Meſſenian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another ſide, on which they thought them ſecure. Inſtead of returning ſouthward to diſpoſſeſs the Heracleidæ, an entrepriſe too daring to afford any proſpect of ſucceſs, Tiſamenus turned his arms againſt the Ionians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Corinthian gulph. An obſtinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tiſamenus; but his followers obtained a deciſive victory, and, having expelled or enſlaved the ancient inhabitants, took [15] poſſeſſion

The followers of Tiſamenus conquer Achaia.

[14] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[15] Pauſan. et Strabo, ibid.

of that valuable province, ſo famous in later times under the name of Achaia. Melanthus enjoyed better fortune. Accompanied by his faithful Meſſenians, he reſorted to Attica; then engaged in war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bœotia. The Bœotian prince propoſed to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat. Thymætes, though deſcended from the heroic Theſeus, declined the challenge. Melanthus accepted it, prevailed in the conflict, and the ſceptre of the depoſed Thymætes was his reward [16]. CHAP. III. Melanthus becomes king of Attica.

The fermentation occaſioned in Greece by ſo many expulſions and migrations, expanded itſelf through the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia Minor. Many Peloponneſian fugitives, who beheld with indignation the calamities inflicted on their country, flocked to the ſtandard of Penthilus [17], a younger brother of Tiſamenus, who had taken refuge in Eubœa. Others followed the banners of Cleues and Malaus [18], alſo deſcendants of Agamemnon. The partiſans of all theſe princes having unſucceſsfully traverſed the northern parts of Greece in queſt of new ſettlements, finally yielded to the dictates of their enterpriſing ſpirit, croſſed the Helleſpont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and eſtabliſhed themſelves along the ſhore of the ancient kingdom of Priam. They gradually diffuſed their colonies from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the mouth of the river Hermus [19]; which The Æolic migration. A. C. 1096.

[16] Strabo, l. ix. p. 393. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv.
[17] Strabo, l. ix. p. 402. [18] Idem, l. xiii. p. 582, et ſeq.
[19] Idem, ibid. et Herodot. l. i. c. cli.

CHAP. III.

delightful country, together with the iſle of Leſbos, thenceforth received the name of Eolis or Eolia, to denote that its inhabitants belonged to the Eolian branch of the Hellenic race [20].

Conſequences ſtill more important reſulted from the expulſion of the Achæans by the followers of Tiſamenes. The ancient inhabitants of Achaia, being themſelves Ionians, took refuge with their kinſmen in Attica. The Meſſenian fugitives under Melanthus had ſought protection in the ſame country. The Athenians readily accepted theſe new acceſſions of ſtrength, being inſpired with a well founded jealouſy of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, whoſe ambition early produced that memorable rivalſhip between the Doric and Ionic race, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times of the Grecian republics [21]. In the reign of Codrus, ſon of Melanthus, the Dorians had already encroached on the Athenian frontier, and ſeized the territory of Megara, on the northern coaſt of the Saronic gulph [22]. Iſſuing from their ſtrong holds in that rocky diſtrict, from which it was long impoſſible to diſlodge them, they haraſſed the Athenians in a cruel war, concerning which a ſuperſtitious rumor prevailed, that they ſhould finally remain conquerors, provided they abſtained from injuring the perſon of the Athenian king. Codrus, hearing the report, was inſpired with the ſpirit of heroiſm congenial to his family. Diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, he proceeded to the quarters of

Rivalſhip between the Ionians and Dorians.

A. C. 1089.

Codrus devotes himſelf to death for his country.

[20] Herodot. l. i. c. clſ.
[21] Herodot. et Thucydid. paſſim.
[22] Strabo, l. ix. p. 393.

the enemy; insulted a Dorian soldier; a combat ensued; Codrus fell [23], his body was recognised; and the superstitious Peloponnesians, now despairing of success, suspended their hostilities. The inimitable merit of a prince, who had devoted himself to death for the safety of his country, furnished the Athenians with a pretence for abolishing the royal authority. None of the human race, they declared, was worthy to succeed Codrus; and none but Jupiter should thenceforth reign in Athens [24]. Medon, the eldest son of that admired prince, was appointed first magistrate of the republic, under the humbler title of archon. His brothers Neleus and Androclus, probably dissatisfied with these transactions, determined to leave their country. Their design was approved by the Achæan and Messenian refugees, and by many Athenian citizens, who complained that Attica was too narrow and barren to maintain the increasing numbers of its inhabitants. The restless spirits in Phocis, Bœotia, and other neighbouring provinces, eagerly joined the emigrants. They sailed to Asia Minor, expelled the ancient inhabitants, a mixed race of Lydians, Carians, and Pelasgi, and seized the central and most beautiful portion of the Asiatic coast [25]. Their colonies were gradually diffused from the banks of the Hermus to the promontory of Posideion. They afterwards took possession of Chios and Samos; and all these

CHAP. III.

A. C. 1070. Royalty abolished in Athens.

The Ionic migration. A. C. 1055.

[23] Pausan. l. vii. c. xxv. Justin. l. ii.

[24] Pausan. l. vii. c. ii.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.

CHAP. III.

countries were united by the common name of Ionia, to denote that the Ionians compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of the colony [26].

Greek colonies eſtabliſhed in Macedon, Thrace, Africa, Magna Græcia, &c.

During the ſame turbulent ages, inteſtine ſedition, foreign invaſion, or the reſtleſs ſpirit of adventure and rapine, occaſioned other important extenſions of Grecian colonization. The moſt numerous colonies occupied the iſles of the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, the ſouthern coaſt of Italy almoſt interſected by the former, and the winding ſhores of Aſia Minor [27] ſo beautifully diverſified by the latter. The larger iſlands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Cyprus, were very anciently planted by Greeks. While the Hellenic ſtock puſhed forth theſe vigorous ſhoots towards the eaſt and weſt, very conſiderable branches extended towards the north and ſouth. The maritime parts of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, themſelves abounding in Greek ſettlements, poured forth new colonies along the European ſhores of the Propontis and Euxine [28]; and emigrants from Peloponneſus having early eſtabliſhed themſelves on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, were gradually diffuſed from the confines of Egypt to the Syrtic gulph [29]. The hiſtory of all theſe colonies, ſome of which rivalled in arts, and others in arms, the glory of the mother country, will merit our attention, in proportion

[26] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 632. et ſeq. Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.

[27] Thucydid. l. i. et Strabo, paſſim.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. et l. iv.

[29] Herodot. l. iv. c. clviii. Strabo, l. x. et l. xvii.

as they emerge from obſcurity, and take a ſtation in the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

CHAP. III.

The Doric migration. A. C. 944.

The Aſiatic Greeks, whoſe affairs firſt became intimately connected with thoſe of the mother country, received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength in conſequence of the renewal of hoſtilities between the Athenians and Dorians. The latter were finally expelled from many of their ſtrong holds in Megara. Diſdaining after this misfortune to return into the Peloponneſus, many of them ſailed to the iſlands of Rhodes and Crete, already peopled by Doric tribes; while others tranſported themſelves to the peninſula of Caria, which, in honor of their mother country, received the name of Doris [30].

View of the Aſiatic colonies.

In conſequence of this eſtabliſhment, which was formed two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor was planted by the Eolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the ſouth. Theſe original diviſions of the Hellenic race retained in their new ſettlements the peculiarities of accent and dialect, by which they had been reſpectively diſtinguiſhed in Europe [31]; and which, at the time of their ſeveral emigrations, prevailed in Bœotia, Attica, and Lacedæmon. The Bœotians and Lacedæmonians, who claimed the firſt honors, the one of the Eolic, and the other of the Dorian name, adhered, with little variation,

Diſtinction of dialects.

[30] Strabo, et Pauſan. et Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiii.

[31] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

CHAP. III.

to their ancient dialects: but the Athenians, more ingenious, or fonder of novelty, made ſuch conſiderable alterations in their writing and pronunciation, as remarkably diſtinguiſhed them from their Ionian brethren; and thus the ſame language came to be modified into four ſubdiviſions[32], or dialects, which may be ſtill recognized in the invaluable remains of Grecian literature.

Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies.

Of all theſe innumerable colonies, the Ionians will demand our earlieſt and moſt ſtudious attention. They ſettled in a country of great extent and fertility, enjoying the moſt delicious climate, and peculiarly adapted to a commercial intercourſe with the moſt improved nations of antiquity. Favored by ſo many advantages, they ſilently flouriſhed in peace and proſperity, till their growing wealth and numbers excited the avarice or the jealouſy of the powers of Aſia. They were ſucceſſively conquered by the Lydians and Perſians, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Having imbibed the principles of European liberty, they ſpurned the yoke of Aſiatic bondage. In their glorious ſtruggles to re-aſſume the character of freemen, they ſolicited and obtained the aſſiſtance of their Athenian anceſtors, and occaſioned that memorable rivalſhip between the Greeks and Perſians, which, having laſted two centuries, ended in the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. In this illuſtrious conteſt, the firſt ſucceſſes of the Greeks againſt enemies far more powerful, and incomparably more numerous than themſelves, inſpired

Their influence on the affairs of their European anceſtors.

[32] Strabo, l. viii.

them with an enthuſiaſm of valor. Their exploits merited not only praiſe, but wonder[11], and ſeemed fit ſubjects for that hiſtorical romance, which, in the progreſs of literature, naturally ſucceeds to epic poetry.

Connection of this hiſtory.

The writers who undertook to record and to adorn the trophies of Marathon and Platæa, had occaſion to look back to the tranſactions of more remote times. But in taking this retroſpect, *they* diſcovered, or at leaſt *we* may diſcover by their works, that their inquiries began too late to afford much authentic information on that important ſubject. Yet, imperfect as their relations neceſſarily are, they ſerve to explain by what concurrence of favorable circumſtances and cauſes the Greeks adopted thoſe ſingular inſtitutions, acquired that ſenſe of national honor, and attained thoſe virtues of policy and proweſs, which enabled them, by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of exploits recorded in hiſtory, firſt to reſiſt, then to invade, and finally to ſubdue the monarchy of Cyrus.

Abolition of monarchy in Greece.

During the prevalence of thoſe generous, though romantic opinions, which characterized the heroic ages, the authority of kings was founded on religion, ſupported by gratitude, and confirmed by utility. While they approved themſelves worthy miniſters of heaven, they were entitled to due and

[11] Τα εργα μεγαλα και θωυμαστα. Herodot. p. 1. The exploits which he relates, ſtill more than his manner of relating them, render the work of Herodotus the intermediate ſhade between poetry and hiſtory, between Homer and Thucydides.

CHAP. III.

hereditary honors[34]; but in the exercise of the regal office, they were bound to respect the rights, the sentiments, and even the prejudices of their subjects. The fatal dictates of ambition and avarice led them to transgress the prescribed limits, and to trample on those laws which their predecessors had held sacred[35]. The minute division of landed property, which had already taken place, not only, as above mentioned, in the Peloponnesus, but in the northern provinces of Greece, rendered the nobles and people more sensible of these encroachments, which they must at once boldly resist, or submit for ever to the yoke of oppression. Reduced to this alternative, the Greeks were inclined by disposition, and enabled by situation, to prefer and to maintain the most honorable part. The prerogatives of royalty were not as yet supported by the exclusive right of the sword, by which a particular class of men might intimidate and controul the resolutions of their fellow-subjects. The more independent and illustrious citizens, who had been accustomed from the earliest times to come armed to the council or assembly, communicated their grievances, and took proper means to remove them[36]. Miltas, the fourth Argive prince in succession to Temenus, was condemned to death for usurping absolute power. Monarchy expired more honorably in Attica; it perished still more disgracefully in Arcadia, but was gradually abolished in every province of

[34] Επι ρητοις γερασι πατριοις Βασιλειαι. Thucydid. l. i.

[35] Thucydid. l. i. p. 10.

[36] Aristot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.

CHAP. III.

Greece, except Sparta alone, from the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus to the northern frontier of Theſſaly[17].

The important, though remote conſequences of this revolution, will be explained in the ſequel. Its immediate tendency ſerved only to multiply the evils which it was deſigned to remedy. Greece, oppreſſed by its kings, was ſtill more oppreſſed by its archons, or magiſtrates[18]; and, already too much divided under the ancient government, was ſtill more ſubdivided under the new form of polity. Many inferior cities diſdained the juriſdiction of their reſpective capitals. Several of them affected ſeparate and independent ſovereignty. Each town, each diſtrict, maintained war with its neighbours; and the fanciful ſtate of nature, according to the philoſophy of Hobbes, was actually realized in that diſtracted country[19].

Accumulated diſorders in that country.

From theſe accumulated diſorders, which ſeemed ſcarcely capable of augmentation, it is time to turn our view to thoſe events and cauſes which operated in a contrary direction, and gradually introduced union and happineſs. The Dorian conqueſt of Peloponneſus, otherwiſe productive of much confuſion and bloodſhed in that peninſula, greatly extended, however, the ſalutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. In the northern parts of Greece, this inſtitution, which had been originally intended to prevent foreign invaſion,

Circumſtances which tended to remove them.

The authority of the Amphictyonic council extended.

[17] Thucydid. l. i. p. 10. Plut. in Solon.

[18] Ariſtot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13

[19] Thucydid. ibid.

CHAP. III.

had been found equally useful in promoting domestic concord. The Dorians being constituent members of the council, continued to attend its meetings after they had settled beyond the mountainous isthmus of Corinth. All the provinces which they conquered gradually assumed the same privilege. The Amphictyons thus became a representative assembly of the whole Grecian name, consisting not only of the three original tribes of Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but of the several subdivisions of these tribes, and of the various communities formed from their promiscuous combination[40]. Each independent state had a right to send two members, the Pylagoras[41] and Hieromnemon[42], respectively intrusted with the civil and religious concerns of their constituents. The abolition of royalty rendering the independent communities more numerous, increased the number of Amphictyons to about an hundred persons[43]. The

[40] The principal divisions were,

1. Ionians, among whom the Athenians held the first rank.

2. The Dorians, among whom the Lacedæmonians held the first rank.

3. The Eolians, among whom the Bœotians held the first rank.

4. Thessalians. 5. Magnetes. 6. Achæans.

7. Phthiotes. 8. Phocians. 9. Malians.

10. Œnians or Œtians. 11. Dolopians.

12. Dorians. Confer. Pausan. in Phocic. et Æschin. de False Legat.

[41] Demosth. de Coron. sect. 51. [42] Suidas, ad voc.

[43] Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Persian war. (Plutarch in Themistocl.) The one half of Greece, on that memorable occasion, remained neutral, or sided with the enemy. (Herodot. et Diodor.) If each city sent two members to the Amphictyons, the whole would amount to one hun-

central city of Delphi, ſo famous from cauſes that will be immediately explained, was choſen as a convenient place for holding their vernal aſſembly; the autumnal was ſtill held at Thermopylæ. An oath, guarded by the moſt ſolemn imprecations, was adminiſtered to each member, "that he would "never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city, nor ſtop "the courſes of its running water, but puniſh to "the utmoſt of his power thoſe who committed "ſuch outrages[44]." Their conſtituents, however, diſcovered, on innumerable occaſions, that they thought themſelves but imperfectly bound by this ſacred promiſe. Every exceſs of animoſity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Amphictyons. Yet it cannot be doubted that their authority tended ſometimes to appeaſe, ſometimes to moderate contention; and that this reſpected tribunal, though deficient in coercive power, had a conſiderable effect to ſuppreſs diſcord, and reſtrain the barbarities of war[45].

CHAP. XII.

The origin of Grecian oracles.

The Amphictyons gained much conſideration, by declaring themſelves protectors of the Delphic oracle, which had been growing to importance ſince the Dorian conqueſt, and which thenceforth gradually acquired a ſingular influence on the affairs of Greece. It is ſeldom poſſible to explain the riſe of inſtitutions derived from the natural paſſions

dred and twenty four. But as ſome cities enjoyed the right of being repreſented in that council only in conjunction with others, this might diminiſh the number of members to that mentioned in the text.

[44] Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 35. [45] Plut. in Cimon.

CHAP. III.

of men, or founded on prejudices as ancient as the world. The moſt probable information concerning the origin of Grecian oracles was conveyed to Herodotus[46], in a thin allegorical veil, by the prieſts of Dodona, and explained to that inquiſitive and ingenious traveller by the prieſts of Jupiter in Egypt. In the fanciful ſtyle of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from the temple of Egyptian Thebes, to Theſprotia in Epirus, perched on a ſpreading oak, proclaimed with a human voice, that an oracle of Jupiter ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Dodona obeyed the divine admonition. In plainer language, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Thebes on the Nile, was tranſported to Epirus by Phœnician pirates, and there ſold as a ſlave. Her Egyptian complexion deſerved the epithet of black among the mountaineers of Theſprotia, bordering on the Illyric hordes, who were remarked by the Greek hiſtorians for their blooming complexions, active vigor, and longevity[47]. She was ſaid to ſpeak the language of birds; before ſhe underſtood the Grecian tongue; often diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of human ſpeech[48]. The enterpriſing female, though reduced to captivity among thoſe whom ſhe muſt have regarded as barbarians, did not yield to deſpair, but dexterouſly availed herſelf of the advantages which ſhe derived from her education and her country. In Egypt, ſuperſtition had been already reduced into

[46] Herod. l. ii. c. 54.
[47] Lucian in Macrob.
[48] Homer, paſſim.

ſyſtem; and a pretenſion to prophecy was one of the moſt ſucceſsful artifices by which the prieſts of Thebes long governed the opinions and reſolutions of prince and people. Her attendance on the temple had taught her ſome of the arts by which this pretenſion was maintained. She choſe the dark ſhade of a venerable oak; delivered myſterious anſwers to the admiring multitude; her reputation increaſed; ſucceſs gained her aſſociates; a temple roſe to Jupiter, and was ſurrounded by houſes for his miniſters.

Reaſon why their authority was not conſiderable during the heroic ages.

This ſingular inſtitution was imitated, at a very early period, in many provinces of Greece. The various and inconſiſtent accounts of ſimilar eſtabliſhments abundantly confirm the antiquity of their origin, and the multiplicity of temples, groves, grottos, and caverns, in which the favorites of innumerable divinities declared their will to men, proves them no leſs univerſal than ancient[49]. During the heroic ages, indeed, as illuſtrious and pious men believed themſelves, on important occaſions, honored with the immediate preſence and advice of their heavenly protectors, the ſecondary information of prieſts and oracles was leſs generally regarded and eſteemed. But in proportion as the belief ceaſed that the gods appeared in a human form, or the ſuppoſed viſits at leaſt of theſe celeſtial beings ſeemed leſs frequent and familiar, the office of prieſt became more important and reſpectable, and the confidence in oracles continually gained

[49] Strabo, l. viii. p. 352. et p. 418. et Strabo et Pauſan. paſſim.

CHAP. III.

ground. At length, these admired institutions, being considered as the chief and almost only mode of communication with supernatural powers, acquired a degree of influence capable to controul every other principle of authority, whether civil or sacred [10].

Circumstances which gave peculiar celebrity to the oracle of Delphi.

But these various oracles, though alike founded on ignorance, and raised by deceit, were not equally supported by power and policy. The crafty Cretans (apt scholars of Egypt), who instituted the worship of the Delphian Apollo [11], gradually procured the credit of superior veracity to the predictions of the god whom they served. Favorable circumstances concurred; the central situation of Delphi; the vernal session of the Amphictyons; the lustre derived from the immediate protection of that assembly; above all, the uncommon and awful aspect of the place itself, fitted to excite wonder in ages less addicted to superstition.

Description of that place.

That branch of the celebrated mount Parnassus, which divides the districts of Phocis and Locris, contained, towards its southern extremity, a profound cavern, the crevices of which emitted a sulphureous vapor, that, powerfully affecting the brain, was deemed capable of inspiring those who breathed it with religious frenzy, and prophetic enthusiasm [12]. Around the principal mouth of the chasm, the city of Delphi arose in the form of a

[10] Herodot. Thucydid. et Xenoph. passim.

[11] Homer, Hymn. ad Apollin.

[12] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 26. et Strab. l. ix. p. 419.

theatre,

theatre, upon the winding declivity of Parnaſſus, whoſe fantaſtic tops overſhadowed it, like a canopy, on the north, while two immenſe rocks rendered it inacceſſible on the eaſt and weſt, and the rugged and ſhapeleſs mount Cirphis defended it on the ſouth [11]. The foot of the laſt-named mountain is waſhed by the rapid Pliſtus, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the diſtance of only a few leagues from the ſacred city. This inacceſſible and romantic ſituation, from which the place derived the name of Delphi [12], was rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the innumerable echoes which multiplied every ſound, and increaſed the ignorant veneration of viſitants for the god of the oracle. The artful miniſters of Apollo gradually collected ſuch objects in the groves and temple, as were fitted to aſtoniſh the ſenſes of the admiring multitude. The ſplendor of marble, the magic of painting, the invaluable ſtatues of gold and ſilver, repreſented (to uſe the language of antiquity) not the reſemblance of any earthly habitation, but rather expreſſed the image of Olympus, adorned and enlightened by the actual preſence of the gods. During the age of Homer, the rich magnificence of Delphi was already proverbial [13]; and when

CHAP. III.

[11] Homer has rather painted than deſcribed the ſituation of Pytho, Apollo's temple at Delphi:

Αυταρ υπερθεν
Ηεπερ υποκρημναται, κευλη δ' υπεδυσεται Βησσα, etc.
Hymn. ad Apollin.

[12] Δελφος is explained in the gloſſaries by ſynonymous words, ſignifying *ſolitary*, *alone*.

[13] Ουδ' αρα λαινος ουδος αδμητοιο τυτος εσχεν.

CHAP. III.

Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition againſt Greece, the dedications in this pious treaſury, accumulated from the ſuperſtition and vanity of Greeks and Barbarians, were held equivalent [16] to the revenues of the monarch of Aſia, who covered the broad Ægean with his fleet, and tranſported into Europe two millions of armed men.

The particular conſtitution of that oracle.

The protection and ſuperintendency of this precious depoſitory of riches and ſuperſtition belonged to the Amphictyons. But the inhabitants of Delphi, who, if we may uſe the expreſſion, were the original proprietors of the oracle, always continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important buſineſs of prophecy [17]. It was *their* province alone to determine at what time, and on what occaſion, the Pythia ſhould mount the ſacred tripod, to receive the prophetic ſteams, by which ſhe communicated with Apollo. When overflowing with the heavenly inſpiration, ſhe uttered the confuſed words, or rather frantic ſounds, irregularly ſuggeſted by the impulſe of the god; the Delphians [18] collected theſe ſounds, reduced them into order, animated them with ſenſe, and adorned them with harmony. The Pythia, appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure, was a mere inſtrument in the hands of thoſe artful miniſters,

[16] See Diſſert. ſur l'Oracle de Delph. par Mr. Hardion, Mém. de l'Academ. The compariſon was, doubtleſs, an exaggeration of the wealth of Delphi, which was little known till later times, when the Phocians plundered the temple of near a million ſterling, without exhauſting its treaſures. But of this more hereafter.

[17] Strabo, l. ix.

[18] Strabo, l. ix. p. 419.

whose character became so venerable and sacred, that they were finally regarded, not merely as attendants and worshippers, but as the peculiar family of the god [59]. Their number was considerable, and never exactly ascertained, since all the principal inhabitants of Delphi, claiming an immediate relation to Apollo, were entitled to officiate in the rites of his sanctuary; and even the inferior ranks, belonging to that sacred city, were continually employed in dances, festivals, processions, and in displaying all the gay pageantry of an airy and elegant superstition. CHAP. III.

Its influence in establishing the Olympic games and Spartan laws.

The subsequent history of Greece attests the important and salutary influence of the Delphic oracle, which no sooner attained splendor, than it confirmed, by its awful sanction, two institutions, the first religious, the second civil, and both accompanied with very extraordinary consequences. The Olympic games, and Spartan laws, were respectively established by Iphitus and Lycurgus, contemporaries [60], friends, both animated by the true spirit of patriotism, and unquestionably the most illustrious characters of the age in which they lived [61]; yet the roads which they pursued for

[59] Lucian Phalar.

[60] Phlegon apud Euseb. Chronic. et Aristot. apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

[61] Lycurgus and Iphitus are commonly supposed to have instituted the Olympic games 108 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 years before Christ, when Coræbus won in the foot-race. See Pausan. l. v. Sir Isaac Newton considers the chronology preceding the victory of Coræbus as so extremely uncertain, that he proposes striking off the imaginary interval between him and Iphitus; which appears the

CHAP. III.

reaching the ſame goal, the ſafety of their reſpective territories, were ſo widely different, that, while the Olympic games rendered Elis the moſt pacific, the laws of Lycurgus made Sparta the moſt warlike, of all the Grecian communities.

Remote cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and other ſimilar inſtitutions.

It was held an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, in the heroic ages, to celebrate the funerals of illuſtrious men by ſuch ſhows and ceremonies as ſeemed moſt pleaſing to their ſhades. The tombs, around which the melancholy manes were ſuppoſed to hover, naturally became the ſcene of ſuch ſolemnities. There the fleeting ghoſts of departed heroes were entertained and honored by exhibitions of bodily ſtrength and addreſs [62]; while the gods, though inhabiting the broad expenſe [63] of heaven, were yet peculiarly worſhipped, by prayers and ſacrifices, in the ſeveral places, which ſometimes the wildneſs, and ſometimes the elegance of fancy, had aſſigned for their favorite, though temporary, reſidence on earth. The lofty chain of Olympus, ſeparating the barbarous kingdom of Macedon from the fertile plains of Theſſaly, is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed juſtly to entitle it to that honor. This long and lofty ridge aſcends above the regions of ſtorms and tempeſts. Its winding ſides are diverſified by woods, and interſected by torrents. Its fantaſtic tops, towering above the clouds, reflect, during

more reaſonable becauſe hiſtory is totally ſilent with regard to any occurrences that muſt have happened in the intermediate ſpace of 108 years.

[62] Iliad, l. xxiii. [63] Ουρανος ευρυς. Homer, paſſim.

day, the rays of the ſun, and ſometimes brighten the gloom of night with the lambent ſplendors of the Aurora Borealis [64]. Olympus came, therefore, to be naturally regarded as the principal terreſtrial habitation of the gods; along the receſſes of this mountain [65] each divinity had his appropriate palace; on its higheſt ſummit Jupiter often aſſembled the heavenly council; and from thence, veiled in a white gleam, the protectors of mankind deſcended, and were viſibly manifeſted to mortal eyes [66]. CHAP. III.

While Olympus was conſidered as the general rendezvous of theſe fanciful beings, it was natural to imagine that the partiality of particular divinities might ſelect other favorite ſpots of the earth for their ſeparate abode. The ſingular aſpect of Delphi, or Pytho, which recommended it as the ſeat of the oracle of Apollo, and afterwards of the Pythian games, has already been deſcribed. The Corinthian territory was particularly conſecrated to Neptune [67]; for where could the god of the ſea be more properly worſhipped, than on the narrow iſthmus, whoſe ſhores were adorned by grateful monuments of delivered mariners, and which had continued, from early times, the principal centre of Grecian navigation?

[64] See the inimitable deſcription in the 6th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 42.

[65] Κατα πτυχας Ολυμπου. Along the foldings of Olympus.

[66] Homer, paſſim; and particularly Iliad, l. xix. ver. 40.

[67] Pauſan. Corinth. et Strabo, p. 382.

CHAP. III.

Immediate cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games.

A tradition prevailed, that even before the Dorian conqueſt, the fruitful and pictureſque banks of the Alpheus, in the province of Elis, or Eleia, had been conſecrated to Jupiter [68]. It is certain that athletic ſports, ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Homer at the funeral of Patroclus, had been on many occaſions exhibited in Elis, by aſſembled chiefs, with more than ordinary ſolemnity [69]. The Dorian conquerors are ſaid to have renewed the conſecration of that delightful province. But the wars which early prevailed between them and the Athenians, and the jealouſies and hoſtilities which afterwards broke out among themſelves [70], totally interrupted the religious ceremonies and exhibitions with which they had been accuſtomed to honor their common gods and heroes. Amidſt the calamities which afflicted or threatened the Peloponneſus, Iphitus, a deſcendant of Oxylus, to whom the province of Eleia had fallen in the general partition of the peninſula, applied to the Delphic oracle. The prieſts of Apollo, ever diſpoſed to favor the views of kings and legiſlators, anſwered agreeably to his wiſh, that the feſtivals anciently celebrated at Olympia, on the Alpheus, muſt be renewed, and an armiſtice proclaimed for all the ſtates willing to partake of them, and deſirous to avert the vengeance of heaven [71]. Fortified by this authority, and aſſiſted by the advice

[68] Pauſan. l. v. paſſim, et l. vi. p. 456.

[69] Iliad, il. ver. 697. et Iliad, ix. ver. 623.

[70] Pauſan. l. v. [71] Phlegon apud Euſeb.

of Lycurgus, Iphitus took meaſures, not only for reſtoring the Olympic ſolemnity, but for rendering it perpetual. The injunction of the oracle was ſpeedily diffuſed through the remoteſt parts of Greece, by the numerous votaries who frequented the ſacred ſhrine. The armiſtice was proclaimed in Peloponneſus, and preparations were made in Elcia, for exhibiting ſhows and performing ſacrifices. In the heroic ages, feats of bodily ſtrength and addreſs were deſtined to the honor of deceaſed warriors; hymns and ſacrifices were reſerved for the gods. But the flexible texture of Grecian ſuperſtition, eaſily confounding the expreſſions of reſpectful gratitude and pious veneration, enabled Iphitus to unite both in his new inſtitution. CHAP. III.

Deſcription of the nature and deſign of this inſtitution.

The feſtival, which laſted five days, began and ended with a ſacrifice to Olympian Jove. The intermediate time was chiefly filled up by the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in which all freemen of Grecian extraction were invited to contend, provided they had been born in lawful wedlock, and had lived untainted by any infamous immoral ſtain. The preparation for this part of the entertainment was made in the gymnaſium of Elis, a ſpacious edifice, ſurrounded by a double range of pillars, with an open area in the middle. Adjoining were various apartments, containing baths, and other conveniences for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, ſhady walks and groves, interſperſed with ſeats and benches, the whole originally deſtined to relieve the fatigues and anxiety of the candidates

CHAP. III.

for Olympic fame; and frequented, in later times, by ſophiſts and philoſophers, who were fond to contemplate wiſdom, and communicate knowledge, in thoſe delightful retreats. The order of the athletic exerciſes, or combats, was eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, and correſponded almoſt exactly to that deſcribed by Homer, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, and eighth of the Odyſſey. Iphitus, we are told, appointed the other ceremonies and entertainments; ſettled the regular return of the feſtival at the end of every fourth year, in the month of July; and gave to the whole ſolemnity that form and arrangement, which it preſerved with little variation above a thouſand years; a period exceeding the duration of the moſt famous kingdoms and republics of antiquity [72].

Its important conſequences.

Such is the account of Grecian writers, who have, doubtleſs, often aſcribed to poſitive inſtitution many inventions and uſages naturally reſulting from the progreſſive manners of ſociety. When we come to examine the Elian games in their more improved ſtate, together with the innumerable imitations of them in other provinces of Greece, there will occur reaſons for believing, that many regulations referred, by an eaſy ſolution, to the legiſlative wiſdom of Iphitus or Lycurgus, were introduced by time or accident, continued through cuſtom, improved by repeated trials, and confirmed by a ſenſe of their utility. Yet ſuch an

[72] See the authors cited by Weſt, in his Diſſertation on the Olympic Games.

inſtitution as the Olympiad, even in its leaſt perfect form, muſt have been attended with manifeſt advantages to ſociety. It is ſufficient barely to mention the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities which took place, not only during the celebration of the feſtival, but a conſiderable time both before and after it. Conſidered as a religious ceremony, at which the whole Grecian name were invited, and even enjoined, to aſſiſt, it was well adapted to facilitate intercourſe, to promote knowledge, to ſoften prejudice, and to haſten the progreſs of civilization and humanity. Greece, and particularly Peloponneſus, was the centre from which the adventurous ſpirit of its inhabitants had diffuſed innumerable colonies through the ſurrounding nations. To theſe widely ſeparated communities, which, notwithſtanding their common origin, ſeem to have loſt all connexion and correſpondence, the Olympiad ſerved as a common bond of alliance, and point of reunion. The celebrity of this feſtival continually attracted to it the characters moſt diſtinguiſhed [73] for genius and enterpriſe, whoſe fame would have otherwiſe been unknown and loſt in the boundleſs extent of Grecian territory. The remote inhabitants, not only of European Greece, but of Aſia and Africa, being aſſembled to the worſhip of common gods, were formed to the ſenſe of a general intereſt, and excited to the purſuit of national honor and proſperity. Strangers of ſimilar diſpoſitions might confirm in Elis the

[73] Pindar, paſſim.

CHAP. III.

sacred and indissoluble ties of hospitality. If their communities were endangered by any barbarous power, they might here solicit assistance from their Grecian brethren. On other occasions they might explain the benefits which, in peace or war, their respective countries were best qualified to communicate. And the Olympic festival might thus serve the purpose of resident ambassadors, and other institutions alike unknown to antiquity.

State of Greece in the age of Lycurgus.

Iphitus did not, probably, foresee the manifold advantages destined to result from his plan. His main aim was to protect the small principality of Elis against the dreaded invasion of more powerful neighbours. This he effectually accomplished by fencing it round with a wall of sanctity, while his more daring associate fortified Sparta with disciplined valor. Yet Lycurgus had farther ends in view, when he proposed those celebrated laws, which were universally admired, but never imitated. Greece in that unfortunate age presented a gloomy picture of domestic discord. The elevated, though romantic, sentiments of antiquity had ceased to prevail; the heroic character was effaced; and the generous, but often destructive expeditions into foreign lands, were interrupted by less daring, but still more fatal undertakings. The introduction of separate wealth had introduced inequality and ambition. Each petty prince was desirous to exalt his prerogative, and to extend his dominions. The passions of neighbouring princes balanced his desire of conquest. The resistance of his subjects counteracted his usurpations. Every

kingdom, almoſt every city, was torn by a double conflict, dangers threatened on all ſides; ſubjects expelled their kings, and kings became tyrants[74].

CHAP. III.

His juſtice expoſes him to reſentment in Sparta.

During theſe tumultuary ſcenes, Lycurgus, of the line of Procles, and commonly reckoned the tenth in deſcent from Hercules, received the Spartan ſceptre upon the death of his elder brother Polydectes: but the widow of Polydectes declaring herſelf pregnant, he reſigned the crown, and aſſumed the title of Protector. This delicate attention to juſtice, rare in that turbulent age, excited juſt admiration for Lycurgus, which was enhanced by contraſt. The ambitious princeſs, more ſolicitous to preſerve the honors of a queen than deſirous to know the tender cares of a mother, ſecretly intimated to the Protector, that, if he conſented to marry her, ſhe would engage that no poſthumous ſon of his brother ſhould diſappoint his hopes of the ſucceſſion. Lycurgus feigned to enter into this unnatural project, but exhorted her not to endanger her health by procuring an abortion. When her delivery drew near, he ſent truſty perſons to attend her, with orders that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, the infant ſhould be immediately carried to him. This command was obeyed, while he ſupped with the principal magiſtrates of the republic. He received the child in his arms, ſaying, "Spartans, a king is born to "you!" Joyous congratulations followed, to commemorate which, the infant was named

[74] Thucydid. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg.

CHAP. III.

His travels.

Chaerelaus, "the people's joy." Notwithſtanding the fame redounding to Lycurgus from this tranſaction, the intrigues of the ſlighted queen raiſed a powerful faction againſt him. He withdrew himſelf from the gathering ſtorm; and being yet in early manhood, indulged his inclination for viſiting foreign countries; an inclination ſtrongeſt in liberal minds, and moſt commendable in ages of rudeneſs and ignorance, when the faint rays of knowledge muſt be collected from an extenſive ſurface.

Collects Homer's poems, and carries them to Sparta.

The renowned iſland of Crete, which had given birth to the gods and governments of Greece, firſt attracted his regard. The Cretans ſtill partially adhered to the laws of Minos; but their iſland never reſumed its priſtine luſtre after the fatal war of Troy. From Crete he ſailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious polity of that ancient kingdom. Deſpiſing the terrors of the ſea, as well as the fatigues and dangers of unexplored journies through barbarous or deſert countries, he is ſaid to have reached the populous and flouriſhing kingdoms of the eaſt: nor, could we truſt the partial evidence of his countryman Ariſtocrates[71], did the remote provinces of India eſcape his obſervation. He returned by the coaſt of Aſia minor, and obſerved, with equal aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, the numerous Greek colonies that had riſen with ſuch ſudden ſplendor on the weſtern coaſt of that valuable peninſula. The

[71] Apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

numerous advantages derived from this extenſive view of men and manners, moulded by ſuch a wide variety of religious, political, and military inſtitutions, were all eclipſed by one diſcovery — the immortal poems of Homer, unknown to the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, but carefully preſerved among the Eolians and Ionians, whoſe anceſtors they celebrated. Lycurgus collected theſe invaluable compoſitions; arranged the ſeveral parts; tranſcribed and tranſported them to Sparta[74], where, after two centuries of wars and revolutions, the cuſtoms as well as the ſentiments deſcribed by the divine poet had been obliterated and forgotten.

The views which they ſuggeſted to Lycurgus.

Neither the aſtoniſhing invention of Homer, nor his inimitable fancy, nor the unrivalled copiouſneſs, energy, and harmony of his ſtyle, ſo powerfully excited the diſcerning admiration of Lycurgus, as the treaſures of his political and moral knowledge, which, being copied from the

[74] This fact is generally acknowledged; yet Plutarch tells us, that ſome writers were abſurd enough to relate that Lycurgus lived ſoon after Homer, and others, that he had actually ſeen the divine poet. Homer deſcribes the Peloponneſus with ſuch accuracy, that the geographer Strabo follows him, as it were, ſtep by ſtep, through that peninſula. It is incredible, therefore, that he, who was ſo perfectly acquainted with that part of Greece, ſhould have been totally forgotten there ſoon after his own times. Homer, it has been often obſerved, preſerves a remarkable ſilence about himſelf; yet his antiquity, were it not ſufficiently evident from the internal proofs above mentioned, p. 40. might be proved from Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 351. and particularly from Iliad, l. xx. ver. 302. He flouriſhed before the return of the Heraclidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy, a revolution which, had it happened before his time, could not have eſcaped his notice.

CHAP. III. bright originals of an heroic age, might be employed to reform the abuſes of a degenerate indeed, but not totally corrupted, nation. By reſtoring, in particular, the moderate ſpirit of policy which prevailed in happier times, the Spartan legiſlator might avert the moſt imminent dangers that threatened his family and his country. The royal families of Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been reluctantly expelled by the reſentment or caution of their injured or jealous ſubjects, who regretted that the regal power was ſo apt to degenerate into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The misfortunes which had aboliſhed the honors, and almoſt extinguiſhed the race of Atreus, Oedipus, Theſeus, and ſo many other kings and heroes of antiquity, muſt purſue, and might ſoon overtake, the deſcendants of Hercules, whom the ſeaſonable laws of Lycurgus maintained, during ſeven centuries, on the Spartan throne. The accumulation of private wealth, together with the natural progreſs of arts and luxury, would gradually render the poſſeſſions of the Greeks more tempting prizes to rapacity and ambition, in proportion to the decay of that courage and diſcipline, which were requiſite to their defence. The fertile plains of Laconia might again be ravaged by the arms of ſome uncultivated, but warlike tribe; Sparta might ſuffer ſimilar calamities to thoſe which ſhe afterwards inflicted on Meſſene, and the alternative of dominion or ſervitude depended on the early inſtitutions that ſhould be reſpectively embraced

by ſo many neighbouring and independent, and therefore rival, communities.

CHAP. III.

The ſagacity of Lycurgus thus contemplating the relations and intereſts of his country and his family, regarded martial ſpirit and political liberty as the great ends of his legiſlation. Theſe important objects had been attained by the primitive inſtitutions, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Homer. Lycurgus determined to imitate the ſimple beauty of that illuſtrious model; and, to the end that the Spartan conſtitution might enjoy a degree of permanence and ſtability which the *heroic policies* had not poſſeſſed, he reſolved to avoid the rocks on which *they* had ſhipwrecked, to extinguiſh the ambition of diſtant or extenſive conqueſt, to level the inequality of fortune, to cruſh the baneful effects of wealth and luxury, in one word to arreſt the progreſs of what is called the refinement, but what ſeemed to the manly diſcernment of this legiſlator, the corruption, of human ſociety.

The main aim of his legiſlation.

To form ſuch a deſign was the work of no vulgar mind; to carry it into execution required the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of perſeverance and courage. Yet, even at this diſtance of time, we may diſcover ſeveral favorable circumſtances, which ſeaſonably conſpired with the views of Lycurgus; we may diſcover in the gradual diſplay of his ſyſtem, how the firſt inſtitutions naturally paved the way for thoſe which ſucceeded them; and while we admire the genius and the virtue, we muſt alſo acknowledge the dexterity and the fortune, of the Spartan legiſlator.

Circumſtances which favored his views.

CHAP. III.

The experience of history (and particularly the history which we have undertaken to record) atteſts the extraordinary revolution which one bold, wiſe, and diſintereſted man may produce in the affairs of the community of which he is a member. The domeſtic diſorders which multiplied in Sparta after the departure of Lycurgus, obliged all ranks of men to look up to his abilities for protection. The animated declamations of Thales, a poet whom he had carried with him from Crete, and who rehearſed with rapturous ecſtacy, the verſes of Homer and his own, ſingularly diſpoſed the minds of men for adopting his propoſed regulations.

His reception at Delphi.

But neither theſe propitious circumſtances, nor the merit of ten years travel in purſuit of moral knowledge and improvement, nor the ties of blood, of friendſhip, and of gratitude, which confirmed the influence of Lycurgus among the principal inhabitants of Sparta, could have enabled this great man to eſtabliſh his plan of government, without the friendly co-operation of the Delphic oracle, which, ſince the decay of the heroic opinions and belief, had become the ſovereign umpire of Greece. The Pythia addreſſed him in terms of the higheſt reſpect; heſitated whether to call him a god or a man, but rather deemed him a divinity; approved the general ſpirit of the inſtitutions which he propoſed to eſtabliſh; and promiſed to furniſh him, as occaſion might require, with ſuch additional regulations, as (when adopted by the Spartans) would render their republic happy and immortal. Fortified by this authority, Lycurgus proceeded with

with a daring yet ſkilful hand, firſt, to new-model the government; ſecondly, to regulate wealth and poſſeſſions; thirdly, to reform education and manners; judiciouſly purſuing this natural order of legiſlation, becauſe men are leſs jealous of power, than tenacious of property, and leſs tenacious of property itſelf, than of their ancient uſages and cuſtoms [77].

CHAP. II.

He regulates the diſtribution of political power among the different orders of the ſtate.

The firſt rhetra [78], or laws which he eſtabliſhed, tended to reſtore the mild moderation of mixed government, which diſtinguiſhed the heroic ages. They confirmed the hereditary honors, but aboliſhed the deſpotiſm [79], of kings: they enforced the dutiful obedience, but vindicated the liberty, of ſubjects. Of the reigning princes, Chaerelaus owed to Lycurgus his throne and his life, and Archelaus deemed it dangerous to oppoſe his projects. Inſtructed by the fatal experience of neighbouring tyrants, they were both eaſily prevailed on to prefer a ſecure, though limited, to an abſolute, but precarious reign. The ſuperſtition of the people could not decline the authority of the legiſ-

[77] The only dangerous oppoſition that he met with, was occaſioned by his laws reſpecting theſe objects. A tumult being excited, the inſolent Alcander wounded him in the face, by which Lycurgus loſt the ſight of an eye. But the perſuaſive eloquence of the legiſlator quelled the ſedition, and his moderation converted Alcander from a violent oppoſer to a ſtrenuous partiſan. Plut. in Lycurg.

[78] The word is ſynonymous with oracula, fata; by which names his laws were diſtinguiſhed as the immediate dictates and inſpirations of heaven.

[79] The difference between the βασιλειαι, or royalties of the heroic ages, and the τυραννιδες of ſucceeding times, is explained by Ariſtot. Politic. et Xenoph. Repub. Spart.

CHAP. III.

lator, when confirmed by the reſpected command of Apollo; and the intereſt of the nobles engaged them unanimouſly to promote his meaſures. With this illuſtrious body, conſiſting of twenty-eight chiefs, the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the tribes and cities of Laconia, Lycurgus conſulted by what means to prevent the political diſſenſions from ſettling in the deſpotiſm of kings, or in the inſolence of democracy. By his new regulations the ancient honors of the nobility were confirmed and extended. They were formed into a permanent council, or ſenate, which examined all matters of government before they were propoſed to the deliberation of the people. The kings were entitled, as in the heroic ages, to be the hereditary preſidents of this national tribunal; which, as in all important queſtions, it poſſeſſed a negative before debate; as the members were choſen for life; and as, on the deceaſe of any ſenator, his ſon or neareſt kinſman was naturally ſubſtituted in his ſtead, might have ſoon arrogated to itſelf the whole legiſlative as well as executive authority.

Inſtitutes the Ephori.

In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, Lycurgus inſtituted the Ephori [50], five annual magiſtrates, inveſted with a temporary power to inſpect and controul the adminiſtration of government, and to maintain the ſpirit and vigor of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. To the Ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and diſſolve the greater and leſſer aſſem-

Nature of their office.

[50] Their name, denoting overſeers, or inſpectors, properly deſcribes their office.

blies of the people, the former compoſed of nine thouſand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital, the latter of thirty thouſand Lacedæmonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. By frequently convening ſuch numerous bodies of men, who had arms in their hands, they rendered them ſenſible of their own ſtrength. The Lacedæmonians felt themſelves entitled not only to execute the juſt, but to thwart the unjuſt, orders of the ſenate. Nor was their liberty endangered by the limited prerogative of the kings, who monthly exchanged with the Ephori ſolemn oaths; the former ſwearing for themſelves to obſerve the laws of Sparta, the latter [81] for the people whom they repreſented, to maintain the hereditary honors of the Herculean race, to reſpect them as miniſters of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war [82].

His laws concerning property.

This equitable diſtribution of power was accompanied, we are told, with an exact diviſion of property. At the diſtance of five centuries it was the current tradition in Greece, that Lycurgus had totally altered the ſituation and circumſtances of his countrymen, by the introduction of an agrarian

[81] The authority of Herodotus, l. i. and of Xenophon de Repub. Spart. refutes Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 7. and Plutarch. in Lycurg. The laſt mentioned writers refer the inſtitution of the Ephori to Theopompus, who lived 130 years after Lycurgus. But this aſſertion only proves that neither Ariſtotle nor Plutarch had ſufficiently entered into the views of the Spartan legiſlator. The Ephori, as it appears from Xenophon and Herodotus, and from the whole tranſactions of Sparta, formed an eſſential part of his plan.

[82] Xenoph. ibid.

CHAP. III.

law, similar to that which has been so often, but always so ineffectually, proposed in other republics, as the surest foundation of liberty and happiness. Yet the equal division of lands, or, in other words, the community of landed property, and the annual partition of the harvest, took place among the original inhabitants of Greece, as well as among the freeborn warriors of ancient Germany. It may be supposed therefore, with a high degree of probability, that the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, still preserved some traces of their primitive institutions, and that their minds were comparatively untainted with the vices of avarice and luxury. To bring them back, however, to the perfect simplicity of the heroic ages, and to prevent their future degeneracy, the territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand portions, each producing eighty-two medimni, or bushels, of barley, with a proportional measure of fruits, wine, and oil. The rich pasture-ground was probably left in common. The kings, as in the age of Homer, enjoyed their separate [1] domain, conferred by the voluntary gratitude of their subjects. The senators, contented with an increase of power and honor, neither obtained nor desired any pre-eminence of fortune. Their moderation in this respect afforded a salutary example to the people, the greater part of whom

Equal division of lands.

[1] The τεμενος. Xenophon tells us, that it was always well watered; it probably consisted, as in Homer's time, φυταλιης και ἀρουρης, of plantations and corn-land.

would naturally be gainers by the agrarian law, while the few who were rich, for that relative term always implies the ſmaller number, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the wiſdom of Lycurgus, and the authority of Apollo.

The equal diviſion of land ſeemed not alone ſufficient to introduce an equality in the manner of life, and to baniſh the ſeeds of luxury. The accumulation of moveable, or what the Greeks called inviſible property[84], might enable the rich to command the labor of the poor, and, according to the natural progreſs of wants and inventions, muſt encourage the dangerous purſuit of elegance and pleaſure. The precious metals had long been the ordinary meaſures of exchange in Sparta, and could we credit a very doubtful tradition, had greatly accumulated in private hands. Lycurgus withdrew from farther circulation all this gold and ſilver, a conſiderable part of which probably repaid his gratitude to the Delphic oracle, while the remainder increaſed the ſplendor of the Lacedæmonian temples. Inſtead of theſe precious metals, the Spartans received pieces of iron, which had been heated red in the fire, and afterwards quenched in vinegar, in order to render them brittle, and uſeleſs for every other purpoſe but that of ſerving as the current ſpecie.

Introduction of iron money.

Aſtoniſhing, ſay Xenophon and Plutarch, were the effects of this operation. With the baniſhment of gold and ſilver were baniſhed all the pernicious

Effects of theſe inſtitutions.

[84] Ουσια αφανης. See Lyſias, paſſim.

appetites which they excite, and all the frivolous arts which they introduce and nouriſh. Neither fortune-teller, nor phyſician, nor ſophiſt, were longer to be ſeen in Sparta; gaudy trinkets and toys, and all uſeleſs finery in dreſs and furniture, at once diſappeared; and the innocence and dignity of Spartan manners correſponded with the primitive ſimplicity of the iron money. But to reduce to the ſtandard of truth or probability this very fanciful deſcription, it may be obſerved, that the uſefulneſs and ſcarcity of iron rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient meaſure of exchange. As ſuch it was frequently employed in the heroic ages [91]; as ſuch it long continued at Byzantium [92], and other Grecian cities [93]. The neceſſity of cooling it in acid, in order to diminiſh its worth, indicates its high value even in the time of Lycurgus. The alteration of the ſpecie, therefore, probably appeared not ſo violent a meaſure as later writers were inclined to repreſent it; nor could the abolition of gold and ſilver aboliſh ſuch elegances and refinements as ſurely had no exiſtence in Greece during the age of the Spartan legiſlator. But it may reaſonably be believed, that the uſe of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices of wealth and luxury had polluted the reſt of Greece, neceſſarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleaſure, as well as the ſlaves of gain, and all the miſerable retinue of vanity and folly.

[91] Homer, paſſim. [92] Ariſtoph. Nubes. [93] Plut. in Lyſand.

CHAP. III.

Principle of the Spartan manners.

That wealth is little to be coveted, even by the moſt ſelfiſh, which neither gratifies vanity, nor flatters the deſire of power, nor promiſes the means of pleaſure. Upon the ſmalleſt abſtraction, if avarice were at all capable of abſtraction, the moſt ſordid might ſympathize with the contempt for ſuperfluous riches, which could never be applied to any purpoſe, either uſeful or agreeable. What effort could the generoſity of that people require (if the indifference of the Spartans deſerve the name of generoſity), among whom all valuable objects were equally divided, or enjoyed in common [32]? Among whom it was enjoined by the laws, and deemed honorable by the citizens, freely to communicate their arms, horſes, inſtruments of agriculture and hunting; to eat together at common and frugal tables, agreeably to the inſtitutions of Crete, as well as the practice of the heroic ages; to diſregard every diſtinction but that of perſonal merit; to deſpiſe every luxury but that of temperance; and to diſdain every acquiſition but that of the public eſteem?

Ordinary occupations and amuſements.

The general and firm aſſent to the divine miſſion of Lycurgus might excite the moſt generous and manly ſentiments in the minds of his countrymen. The perſuaſive force of his eloquence, aſſiſted by the lyric genius of Thales, a poet worthy of Apollo and his miſſionary [33], might enable the legiſlator to complete his beneficial and extenſive plan. But there was reaſon to apprehend leſt the

[32] Xenoph. ibid. c. vi. [33] Plut. in Lycurg.

CHAP. III.

Principle of the Spartan manners.

ſyſtem of Lycurgus, like moſt ſchemes of reformation, ſhould evaporate with the enthuſiaſm which produced it, unleſs the mortifications which it enjoined were rendered habitual to practice, and familiar to fancy. His laws were few and ſhort; for the ſake of memory they were conceived in verſe; they were not conſigned to writing, but treaſured in the *hearts* of his diſciples as the immediate dictates of heaven. The Lacedæmonians were ſeverely prohibited from the contagious intercourſe of ſtrangers, except at the ſtated returns of religious ſolemnities. Lycurgus, who had aſſiſted Iphitus in reſtoring the Olympic games, inſtituted ſimilar, though leſs ſplendid, feſtivals in his native country. When unemployed in the ſerious buſineſs of war, the Lacedæmonians were continually engaged in aſſemblies for converſation and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, or in religious and military amuſements. Agriculture and the mechanic arts were left to the ſervile hands of the Helots, under which appellation were comprehended (as will be explained hereafter) various hoſtile communities that ſucceſſively fell under the dominion of Sparta, and whoſe perſonal labor was regarded as the common property of the public.[*] The ſciences of war and government were recommended by the laws of Lycurgus, as the only purſuits deſerving the attention of freemen.

Ordinary occupations and amuſements.

[*] "And, in ſome meaſure, they," the Lacedæmonians, "had public ſlaves. Strabo. See likewiſe Ariſtot. Repub. l. ii. c. 5.

CHAP. III. Their military inſtitutions.

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with and againſt them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the firſt quality of a ſoldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate moſt powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the moſt odious and deſtructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended, not like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the ſervitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preſerved the uſe of the ſame weapons and defenſive armor that had been adopted in the heroic ages; ſhortening only the length, and thereby improving the form of the ſword, which was two-edged, pointed, maſſy, and fitted either by cutting or thruſting to inflict a dangerous wound [91]. Their troops were divided into regiments, conſiſting of five hundred and twelve men, ſubdivided into four companies, and each of theſe into ſmaller diviſions, commanded by their reſpective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedæmonian armies to contain, comparatively, few men not intruſted with ſome ſhare of ſubordinate command [92]. The ſoldiers were

[91] Vid. Pollux, voc. ξυηλον.

[92] Thucydides, who remarks this peculiarity, l. v. p. 360. aſſigns the reaſon of it, that the care of the execution might pertain to many. The whole Lacedæmonian army, except a few, conſiſted, he ſays, in αρχοντες αρχοντων, και το επιμελες του δρωμενου πολλοις προσηκει. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the account given by Thucydides, in this paſſage, of the compoſition of the Lacedæmonian armies, differs materially from that of Xenophon. I have

CHAP. III.

attended by a multitude of artisans and slaves, who, furnished them with all necessary supplies, and accompanied by a long train of priests and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valor. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; sensible of the weakness of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for their security, out-sentries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their customary exercises. Xenophon has described with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by skilful and rapid evolutions, presented the strength of the line to an unexpected assault. When *they* found it prudent to attack, the king, who usually rose before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and sacrifice, the favor of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in columns, according to the nature of the ground,

preferred the latter, first, because Xenophon writes expressly on the subject, of which Thucydides speaks incidentally in describing a particular battle: secondly, because the observations of Xenophon relate to the age of Lycurgus, those of Thucydides to the time of the Peloponnesian war: thirdly, because, as will appear in the sequel, Xenophon had a better opportunity than any other stranger, of being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Lacedæmon.

The Lacedæmonian tactics will be explained more particularly hereafter.

Ου χρη παννυχιον ευδειν βουληφορον ανδρα
Ω, τε και επιτριφθιτας και τοσσα μεμηλε.

Lycurgus, never losing sight of Homer, converted his advices into laws.

and the numbers and diſpoſition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of aſpect; and diſplayed, in their dreſs and ornaments, more than their wonted ſplendor. Their long hair was arranged with ſimple elegance; their ſcarlet uniforms, and brazen armor, diffuſed a luſtre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king ſacrificed a-new; the muſic ſtruck up; and the ſoldiers advanced with a ſlow and ſteady pace, and with a cheerful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the nobleſt employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the priſoners, to divide the ſpoil, and to decide the conteſted prizes of valor. Both before and after, as well as during, the action, every meaſure was conducted with ſuch order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he conſidered the diſcipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war [95]. CHAP. III.

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populouſneſs, and increaſed the ſtrength, of Sparta.

But that continual exerciſe in arms, which improved the ſkill and confirmed the valor, muſt gradually have exhauſted the ſtrength of Sparta, unleſs the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the ſyſtem of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by ſome very ſingular inſtitutions [96]; but ſtill more powerfully encouraged

[95] Xenoph. de Repub. Spart.

[96] Bachelors were debarred from aſſiſting at the female dances. They were compelled to walk naked through the ſtreets in the winter ſolſtice, ſinging a ludicrous ſong, which confeſſed the juſtice of their punishment.

CHAP. III.

by extirpating its greateſt enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populouſneſs of Sparta, endeavoured to ſupply the paſt generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is ſuſceptible. The credulous love of wonder has always been eager to aſſert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world poſſeſſed a meaſure of ſize and ſtrength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidſt the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The frequent repetition of the ſame romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and inſipid perſonages in the remote hiſtory of almoſt every people: but from the general maſs of fable, a juſt diſcernment will ſeparate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had deſcribed; and their effects, being not leſs permanent than ſalutary, are, at the diſtance of many centuries, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, whoſe unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans ſuperior to other men in the excellences of mind and body [97].

His regulations

Of this extraordinary circumſtance, the evidence of contemporary writers could ſcarcely

[97] As to the mind, the Spartans were, ſays Xenophon, πειθαρχικωτεροι, και αιδημονεστεροι, και ων δει ευκρατεστεροι. Ibid. c. iii. And as to the body, Διαφερουτας και κατα μεγεθος και κατα ισχυν ανδρας εν Σπαρτη απετελεσεν. Ibid.

CHAP. III. concerning women, marriage, and children.

convince us, if they had barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cauſe. But in deſcribing the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourſe between the ſexes, women, marriage, and children, whoſe welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is ſaid, produce the brave and good; but the phyſical qualities of children ſtill more depend on the conſtitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes; but the women were univerſally condemned to drudge in ſedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to ſuperintend, more frequently to perform, the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labor of their hands, food and raiment for themſelves and families. Their diet was coarſe and ſparing; they abſtained from the uſe of wine; they were deprived of liberal education, and debarred from faſhionable amuſements. Women, thus degraded by ſervility, appeared incapable of giving good ſons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the inſtitutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labors of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were generally committed to ſervile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practiſed thoſe liberal exerciſes and amuſements, which were elſewhere conſidered

CHAP. III.

as the peculiar privilege of men; they assisted at the public solemnities, mingled in general conversation, and dispensed that applause and reproach, which dispensed by them, are always most effectual [a]. Hence they became not only the companions but the judges of the other sex; and, except that their natural delicacy was not associated to the honors of war, they enjoyed the benefit without feeling the restraint, of the Spartan laws.

The restoration of the natural rights of women restored moderation and modesty in the intercourse between the sexes. Marriage, though enjoined as a duty, could only be contracted in the full vigor of age; and these simple institutions had a more salutary influence on the physical improvement of the Spartans, than either the doubtful expedient, which prevailed among them to the latest times, of adorning the women's apartments with the finest statues of gods and heroes, that, by frequently contemplating these graceful images, they might produce fairer offspring; or the unnatural and detestable cruelty of exposing delicate or deformed children, a practice strongly recommended by Lycurgus, and silently approved, or faintly blamed, by the greatest philosophers of antiquity.

[a] This, likewise, was the business of women in the heroic ages.

Αλλα μοιλα αινως
Αιδεομαι Τρωας και Τρωιδας ελκεσιπεπλους,
Αιχι, κακος ως, νεφιν αλυσκαζων πολεμοιο.

Il. l. vi. ver. 443.

CHAP. III. Education.

Even in a moral view, the character of Spartan mothers muſt have been highly beneficial to their ſons; ſince much of the happineſs of life depends on the firſt impreſſions of our tender years. When boys were emancipated from the juriſdiction of women, they were not intruſted, as in other parts of Greece, to the mercenary tuition of ſlaves, who might degrade their ſentiments, and corrupt their morals. The education of youth, as an office of the higheſt confidence, was committed to thoſe who had enjoyed, or who were entitled to enjoy, the moſt ſplendid dignities of the republic; after the example of ancient times, when Phœnix educated Achilles, and when it was reaſonably required that the maſter ſhould himſelf poſſeſs the virtues with which he undertook to inſpire his diſciples. The Spartan youth were taught muſic and drawing: the former of which comprehended the ſcience not only of ſounds, but of number and quantity: they were taught to read and ſpeak their own language with graceful propriety; to compoſe in proſe and in verſe; above all, to think, and in whatever they ſaid, even during the flow of unguarded converſation, to accommodate the expreſſion to the ſentiment [99]. Their ſedentary ſtudies were relieved by the orcheſtric and gymnaſtic exerciſes, the early practice of which might qualify them for the martial labors of the field.

[99] In the ſmart pithy ſentences, or apophthegms, for which the Spartans were famous, the thought is ſometimes elegant, and ſometimes ingenious; but their merit depends for the moſt part on the obſervance of the rule in the text. See Plut. Apophth.

CHAP. III.

For this moſt important buſineſs of their manhood, they were ſtill farther prepared, by being inured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardſhip and ſeverity. They wore the ſame garment, ſummer and winter; they walked barefooted in all ſeaſons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the moſt part ſo ſparing, that they loſt no opportunity to ſupply the defect. What they were unable to raviſh by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practiſed where ſeparate property is almoſt unknown) was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed; but if their dexterous deceit eſcaped obſervation, they were allowed to boaſt of their ſucceſs, and met with due applauſe for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the uſeful ſtratagems of war [100].

Peculiar diſcipline of the youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the maſters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the moſt dangerous. His diſcernment perceived the value of that moſt important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his diſcipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Inſtead of being looſened from the uſual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adoleſcence, were ſubjected to a more rigorous reſtraint; and the moſt extraordinary expedients

[100] Beſides Xenophon and Plutarch, ſee, for the Spartan education, Plato in Protagor.

were

were employed to moderate the love of pleasure, to correct the insolence of inexperience, and to control the headstrong impetuosity of other youthful passions. Their bodies were early familiarized to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accustomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exercise of the chase formed their principal amusement; at stated times, the magistrates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the seeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a life of habitual toil and temperance, they were subjected to corporal punishment, which it was their custom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honor were instilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, served as so many schools of wisdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occasions, but more particularly on days of festivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boasted their past prowess; those in the vigor of life displayed the sentiments which their manly courage inspired; and the young expressed a modest confidence that, by steadfastly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to surpass, the glory of both. CHAP. III.

But the desire of emulating the fame of their illustrious ancestors was not the most ardent principle that animated the minds of the rising generation. They were taught to vie with each other in every agreeable and useful accomplishment. Their emulation.

CHAP. III.

As they were publicly educated in ſeparate claſſes, according to their reſpective ages of childhood, adoleſcence, and puberty [101], their characters were exactly aſcertained and fully known; and the rewards and honors gradually beſtowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excelſence which they had previouſly diſcovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of ſuperior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might reſpectively chuſe, each an hundred of their companions, who ſhould be entitled to the honorable diſtinction of ſerving in the cavalry. The reaſons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been ſet aſide, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the aſſemblies for converſation and exerciſe, in the gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amuſements, the two parties diſplayed the utmoſt emulation and ardor, the one to regain the equality which they had loſt, the other to maintain their aſcendant. They ſeldom rencountered in the ſtreets or walks, without diſcovering their animoſity in mutual reproaches, and ſometimes in blows. But theſe quarrels were not dangerous, either to the ſafety of the public, or to the perſons of individuals, becauſe the com-

[101] I have choſen theſe words to expreſs the ſucceſſive ages of the παις, μειρακιον, εφηβος. They continued ηβωντες till 46, which was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans the beginning of old age. Vid. Cic. de Senectute.

CHAP. III.

batants were obliged to ſeparate (under the pain of puniſhment and diſgrace) at the peaceful ſummons of every byſtander; and the reſpected admonitions of age controlled, on ſuch occaſions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent paſſions.

The paternal authority in Sparta.

The reverence of aged wiſdom, which formed the prevailing ſentiment of the heroic times, was reſtored by the legiſlation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The renovation of limited government, the equal partition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial ſources of half the miſeries and diſgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus conſidered his ſyſtem as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compenſated by honor and reſpect; the hopes and vigor of the young were balanced by obedience and reſtraint. The difference of years thus occaſioned little diſproportion of enjoyment; the happineſs of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental diſtinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of perſonal merit, and of its reward, the public eſteem, and eagerly graſped the advantages which glory confers; the only excluſive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority [102], which maintained the diſcipline, and pro-

[102] The "patria poteſtas."

CHAP. III.

moted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly eſtabliſhed at Sparta, where every father might exerciſe an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common ſons of the republic. This domeſtic ſuperiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the ſtate were obtained only by men of experienced wiſdom; and it required ſixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a ſeat in the ſenate-houſe, the higheſt ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impoſſible to miſtake the ſpirit, had a direct tendence to produce moderation and firmneſs in the public councils, to control the too impetuous ardor of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domeſtic faction, and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conqueſt. The power of the magiſtrate was confounded with the authority of the parent; they mutually aſſiſted and ſtrengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unſhaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their intereſt to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

Coincidence of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus with thoſe of the heroic ages.

Such were the celebrated inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the ſimplicity of their deſign, the exact adaptation of their parts, and the uniform conſiſtence of the whole, from the political eſtabliſhments of other countries, which are commonly the irregular and motley production of time and accident. Without a careful examination of the whole ſyſtem, it

is impoſſible to ſeize the ſpirit of particular laws. But if the whole be attentively conſidered, we ſhall perceive that they contain nothing ſo original or ſo ſingular as is generally believed. From the innumerable coincidences that have been remarked between the heroic and the Spartan diſcipline, there ſeems ſufficient ground to conclude that the one was borrowed from the other; and if we accurately contemplate the genius of both, we may diſcern that they tended not (as has been often ſaid) to ſtop and interrupt, but only to divert, the natural current of human propenſities and paſſions. The deſire of wealth and of power, of effeminate eaſe, of frivolous amuſements, and of all the artificial advantages and enjoyments of ſociety, are only ſo many ramifications of the love of action and of pleaſure; paſſions which it would be impoſſible to eradicate without deſtroying the whole vigor of the mind. Yet theſe propenſities, which it is often the vain boaſt of philoſophy to ſubdue, policy may direct to new and more exalted objects. For the ſordid occupations of intereſt, may be ſubſtituted the manly purſuits of honor; the love of virtuous praiſe, may control the deſire of vicious indulgence; and the impreſſions of early inſtitution, confirmed by example and habit, may render the great duties of life its principal employment and pleaſure.

CHAP. III.

Spirit of both.

Such a condition of ſociety ſeems the higheſt elevation and grandeur to which human nature can aſpire. The Spartans attained, and long preſerved, this ſtate of exaltation; but ſeveral

Fate of the Spartan inſtitutions.

CHAP. III.

circumstances and events, which the wisdom of Lycurgus [101] had foreseen, but which no human power could prevent, undermined the foundation of their greatness and felicity. Their military prowess gave them victory, slaves, and wealth; and though individuals could feel only the pride of virtue, and enjoy only the luxury of glory, the public imbibed the spirit of rapacity and the ambition of conquest. As in other countries the vices of individuals corrupt the community, in Laconia the vices of the public corrupted individuals. This unfortunate tendence was increased by the inequality of the cities originally subject to the Lacedæmonian laws. Sparta, the capital, contained nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants of the whole territory; the rest were divided among thirty, and afterwards eighteen, subordinate towns [102]. The superior numbers of the Spartans enlarged their sphere of competition, and increased their ardor of emulation. They soon surpassed their neighbours, not only in valor and address, but in dignity and in power. All matters of importance were decided in the lesser assembly; the greater was seldom summoned; and the members of the former, instead of continuing the equals, became the masters, and at length the tyrants, of their Lacedæmonian brethren. The

[101] Lycurgus had formed Sparta for defence, not for conquest. He expressly forbade them to pursue a flying enemy; he forbade them to engage frequently in war with the same people. Both injunctions were violated in the Messenian wars.

[102] Strabo, l. viii.

CHAP. III.

uſurpation of power fomented their deſire of wealth; ſeveral lots were accumulated by the ſame perſons as early as the Perſian war [101]; and the neceſſity of defending their poſſeſſions, and their authority, againſt men who had arms in their hands and reſentment in their hearts, rendered their government uncommonly rigid and ſevere. The ſlaves, the freedmen [106], the tenants of the Laconic territory, and even ſuch of the inhabitants of the capital as, on account of their poverty, cowardice, or any other diſgraceful circumſtance, were debarred from the dignities of the republic [107], teſtified the keeneſt animoſity againſt the ſtern pride of the Spartan magiſtrates, and, to uſe the lively but indelicate expreſſion of Xenophon, would have devoured them raw [108]. The Spartans, however, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority by force or by fraud, by ſeaſonable compliance, or by prompt and judicious ſeverity. By dividing the ſtrength they diſarmed the fury of their enemies, and the flames of domeſtic diſcord were eclipſed by the ſplendor of foreign conqueſt, by which both the magiſtrates and the ſubjects were enriched and

[101] Demaratus told Xerxes that there were but eight thouſand Spartan lots (Herodot.) and about a century afterwards their number was reduced to one thouſand. Ariſt. Polit.

[106] So I have tranſlated the word ὑποδεεστέρους, on the authority of Thucydides, l. v. ἐγίγνετο δὲ τὸ ὑποδεεστέρους γλυκύτερον ἢ νῦν ἦν. The reſentment even of the freedmen proves the intolerable ſeverity of the government.

[107] They were called ὑπομείονες, inferiors, in oppoſition to the ὅμοιοι, or peers.

[108] Xenophon, Hellen. l. iii.

CHAP. III.

corrupted: yet, amidſt civil diſcord and political degeneracy, they ſtill preſerved their religious and military inſtitutions, as well as their invaluable plan of education; and their tranſactions, even in the lateſt ages of Greece, will furniſh an ample and honorable commentary on the laws of Lycurgus.

Laſt tranſaction of Lycurgus.

Concerning this extraordinary man, only one farther [100] circumſtance is recorded with any appearance of authenticity; a circumſtance highly deſcriptive both of his own character, and of the age in which he lived. Having beheld the harmony of the political machine, which he had ſo ſkilfully contrived, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and declared, that now he had but one new regulation to propoſe, upon which, however, it was firſt neceſſary to conſult the oracle of Delphi; that, meanwhile, his countrymen, who had ſeen the ſucceſs of his labors, would engage that no alteration ſhould take place before his return. The kings, the ſenate, and the people, ratified the engagement by a ſolemn oath. Lycurgus undertook his journey; the oracle predicted the happineſs which the Spartans ſhould enjoy under his admirable laws; the reſponſe was tranſmitted to his country, where Lycurgus himſelf determined never more to return; convinced that the duration of the government which he had eſtabliſhed would be better ſecured by the eternal ſanctity of an oath, than by the temporary influence of his own perſonal preſence.

[100] Some contradictory traditions concerning his death are preſerved in Plut. in Lycurg. et Juſtin. l. iii.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

CHAP. IV.

State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty. — Description of Laconia and Messenia. — Causes of the War between those States. — Invasion of Messenia. — Distress of the Messenians. — The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it. — They obtain Assistance from Argos and Arcadia. — Their Capital taken by the Spartans. — Issue of the first Messenian War. — State of Greece. — The Colony of Tarentum founded. — The second Messenian War. — Character and Exploits of Aristomenes. — The Distress of the Spartans. — They obtain Assistance from Athens. — The Poet Tyrtæus. — Subjugation of Messenia. — Future Fortunes of its Citizens. — Their Establishment in Sicily.

CHAP. IV. State of Greece after the abolition of monarchy.

HAD the Greeks remained subject to kings, it is probable that they would have continued longer to exert their united valor against the surrounding Barbarians. The successful adventures of the Argonauts, the glorious, though fatal, expedition against Troy, would have animated the emulation and the hopes of succeeding candidates for fame; and the whole nation, being frequently employed in distant and general enterprises, would, through the habits of mutual intercourse, and the natural tendence of military

CHAP. IV.

subordination, have been gradually moulded into one powerful monarchy. This revolution would have given immediate tranquillity to Greece, but destroyed the prospect of its future grandeur. The honorable competitions of rival provinces must have ceased with their political independence; nor would the Greeks have enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring, by a long and severe apprenticeship in arms, that disciplined valor which eminently distinguished them above other nations of antiquity. In most countries it has been observed, that, before the introduction of regular troops the militia of the borders far excel those of the central provinces. Greece, even under its kings, was divided into so many independent states, that it might be regarded as consisting entirely of frontier. Under the republican form of government, it was still more subdivided; and motives of private ambition now co-operating with reasons of national animosity, wars became more frequent, and battles more bloody and more obstinate. It is little to be regretted that scarcely any materials remain for describing the perpetual hostilities between the Thebans and the Athenians; between the latter and the Peloponnesians; between the Phocians and Thessalians; and, in general, between each community and its neighbours. The long and spirited contest between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, is the only war of that age which produced permanent effects. The relation of this obstinate struggle has happily come down to us, accompanied with such circumstances as

paint the condition of the times, and answer the main ends of history.

CHAP. IV.

The territories of Laconia and Messenia occupied the southern regions of the Peloponnesus. The shores of Laconia were washed by the eastern, or the Ægean, those of Messenia[1], by the western, or the Ionian, Sea. The former country extended forty miles from east to west, and sixty from north to south. The ground, though roughened by mountains, like the rest of the Peloponnesus, abounded in rich and fertile valleys, equally adapted to the purposes of cultivation and pasture. The whole country was anciently called Hecatonpolis[2], from its hundred cities. They were reduced to the number of thirty[3] as early as the time of Lycurgus. The decay or destruction of Helos, Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthæ, and other less considerable towns, gradually increased the populousness of Sparta, the capital, situated near the centre of Laconia, and almost surrounded by the Eurotas. The other inland places of most note were Geronea, Thurium, and Sellasia. The sea-ports were Prasiae, Cyphanta, Zarax; Limera, famous for its vines; and Gythium, whose capacious harbour was, in all ages, more than sufficient to contain

Description of Laconia,

[1] Isocrat. in Archidam. calls the country Messene; Pausanias, Messenia.

[2] Strabo, l. viii. p. 362. mentions this only as a hearsay; but it has been always repeated.

[3] Strabo says, "about thirty," and calls them πολιχνια, oppidula, little towns.

CHAP. IV.

the naval ſtrength of Sparta. In the time of Lycurgus, the freemen, of full age, amounted to thirty-nine thouſand [a]. Thoſe of full age are generally reckoned the fourth part of the whole; ſo that the free inhabitants of Laconia may be computed at one hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand, and the ſlaves, as will appear hereafter, probably exceeded four times that number.

and of Meſſenia.

Meſſenia was leſs extenſive, but more fertile, than Laconia; and the former country, in ancient times, was proportionably more populous. Both kingdoms were principally ſupported by agriculture and paſturage, their ſubjects never having attained any high degree of improvement in arts, manufactures, or commerce. Meſſenia was, however, adorned by the ſeaports of Corone, Pylus, Methone, and Cyparyſſus. The moſt conſiderable inland towns were Andania, the ancient capital; the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira; the frontier town of Ampheia; and the celebrated Ithome, near to the ruins of which was erected, by Epaminondas, the comparatively modern city of Meſſene.

Spirit of government in both communities.

As the countries of Laconia and Meſſenia were both governed by kings of the family of Hercules, and both inhabited by ſubjects of the ſame Doric race, it might have been imagined that ſuch powerful connexions would have diſpoſed them to continue in a ſtate of mutual friendſhip; or, if the ties of blood could not excite neighbouring ſtates

[a] Strabo, l. viii. p. 363, etc. et Pauſan. in Lacon.

[b] Plut. in Lycur.

[c] Pauſan. in Meſſen. et Strabo, l. viii. p. 360, etc.

to a reciprocation of good offices, that they would at leaſt have engaged them to maintain an inoffenſive tranquillity. The different branches of the family of Hercules were induced by intereſt, as well as perſuaded by affection, mutually to ſupport each other. When the prerogative was invaded in any particular kingdom, it was natural for the neighbouring princes to defend the cauſe of royalty; and we find that, on ſeveral occaſions, they had engaged to aſſiſt each other in repreſſing the factious turbulence of the nobles, and the ſeditious ſpirit of the people. But when the influence of the family of Hercules declined with the abolition of monarchy in moſt countries of Greece, the capital of each little principality, which always enjoyed a pre-eminence in the national aſſemblies, began to uſurp an unlimited authority over the neighbouring cities, and to control, by its municipal juriſdiction, the general reſolves of the community. Sparta had, in this manner, extended her power over the ſmaller towns of Laconia. The walls of Helos, whoſe inhabitants had pertinaciouſly reſiſted this uſurpation, were levelled with the ground, the citizens reduced to the moſt miſerable ſlavery, and a law enacted by the Spartan council, which forbade, under ſevere penalties, the emancipation of the Helots, or the ſelling of them into foreign countries, where they might entertain the flattering hopes of regaining their loſt liberty. The ſame tyrannical ſpirit which governed the meaſures of the Spartans, had taken poſſeſſion of

[7] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

CHAP. IV.

their neighbours the Meſſenians, and had urged the inhabitants of the capital to invade, conquer, and enſlave ſeveral of the ſmaller cities.

General cauſes of the war between them.

While ſuch ambitious principles prevailed with both nations, it was ſcarcely to be imagined that the more powerful ſhould not exert its utmoſt ſtrength to obtain dominion, and the weaker its utmoſt courage and activity to preſerve independence. Beſides this general cauſe of animoſity, the rich fields of Meſſenia offered a tempting prize to the avarice of the Spartans; a circumſtance continually alleged by the Meſſenians, as the principal motive which had induced their enemies to commence an unjuſt and unprovoked war. The Spartans, however, by no means admitted this reproach. It was natural, indeed, that ſuch differences ſhould ariſe between the ſubjects of rival ſtates, as might furniſh either party with a plauſible pretence for taking arms. Theſe differences it will be proper briefly to relate, after premiſing, that, although the Greek hiſtorians mention three Meſſenian wars, the third had little reſemblance, either in its object, or in its effects, to the firſt and ſecond. Theſe were the generous ſtruggles of a warlike people for preſerving their hereditary freedom and renown, while the third, though dignified with the ſame appellation, was only an unſucceſsful revolt of ſlaves from their maſters.

Their mutual injuries.

On the confines of Meſſenia and Lacedæmon ſtood an ancient temple of Diana, which, being erected at the common expenſe, was open to the prayers and ſacrifices of the two nations. Hither,

CHAP. IV.

according to annual cuſtom, repaired a ſelect band of Spartan virgins to ſolemnize the chaſte rites of their favorite divinity. A company of Meſſenian youths arrived at the ſame time to perform their cuſtomary devotion, and to implore the protection of the warlike goddeſs. Inflamed by the beauty of the Spartan ladies, the Meſſenians equally diſregarded the ſanctity of the place, and the modeſt character of Diana, whoſe worſhip they came to celebrate. The licentious youths, after vainly attempting by the moſt ardent prayers and vows, to move the ſtern inflexibility of Spartan virtue, had recourſe to brutal violence in order to conſummate their fatal deſigns; fatal to themſelves, to their country, and to the unhappy victims of their fury, who, unwilling to ſurvive ſo intolerable a diſgrace periſhed miſerably by their own hands [f].

Euephnus, the Lacedæmonian, defrauds the Meſſenian Polychares. Olymp. ix. 1. A. C. 744.

To this atrocious injury, on the part of the Meſſenians, ſucceeded another, of a more private nature, on that of the Lacedæmonians. Polychares was a Meſſenian of noble birth, of great wealth, conſpicuous for the virtues of public and private life, and renowned for his victories in the Olympic games. The property of Polychares, like that of the moſt opulent of his countrymen, chiefly conſiſted in numerous herds of cattle; part of which he intruſted to a Lacedæmonian, of the name of Euephnus, who undertook, for a ſtipulated reward, to feed them on the rich meadows

[f] Pauſan. in Meſſen. p. 222. The Meſſenians denied this whole tranſaction, and ſubſtituted a more improbable ſtory in its ſtead. Pauſan. ibid.

CHAP. IV.

which he poſſeſſed on the Lacedæmonian coaſt. The avarice of Euephnus was not reſtrained by the ſenſe of duty, the principles of honor, or the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Having ſold the cattle to foreigners, who often came to purchaſe that article in Laconia, he travelled to the Meſſenian capital, and viſiting his friend Polychares, lamented the loſs of his property by the incurſion of pirates.

Aſſaſſinates his ſon.

The frequency of ſuch events would, probably, have concealed the fraud; but a ſlave, whom Euephnus ſold along with the cattle, having eſcaped the vigilance of his new maſters, arrived in time to undeceive the generous credulity of Polychares. The perfidious Lacedæmonian, ſeeing his contrivance thus unexpectedly diſconcerted, endeavoured to deprecate the juſt reſentment of his friend, by the moſt humiliating confeſſion of his guilt, and by inſiſting on the temptation of gain, the frailty of nature *; the ſincerity of his repentance, and his earneſt deſire of making immediate reſtitution. Unfortunately, indeed, he had not any conſiderable ſum of money in his poſſeſſion; but if Polychares would allow his ſon to accompany him to Lacedæmon, he would put into the hands of the youth the full price which he had received for his father's property. On this occaſion it is eaſier to pity the misfortune, than excuſe the

* Εν γαρ τη ανθρωπινη Φυσει, και αλλων ενοντων, εφ' ως βιαζομεθα αδικοι γινεσθαι, τα κερδη μεγιστην αναγκην ἐχει. PAUSAN.

Et l'intérêt enfin, père de tous les crimes. HENRIADE.

weakneſs,

weakneſs of the Meſſenian. The youth had no ſooner ſet foot on the Lacedæmonian territory, than the traitor Euephnus ſtabbed him to the heart. C. H. A. D. IV.

The afflicted father, aſſembling his friends and followers, travelled to Sparta, and implored the juſt vengeance of the laws againſt the accumulated guilt of perfidy and murder. In vain he repeatedly addreſſed himſelf to the kings, to the Ephori, to the ſenate, and to the aſſembly. The money, the eloquence, the intrigues of Euephnus, and, above all, his character of Spartan, prevailed over the impotent ſolicitations of a Meſſenian ſtranger. Polychares, provoked by the cruel diſregard of the Lacedæmonians to his juſt demands, determined to return home; but having loſt his underſtanding through rage and deſpair, he aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral Spartan citizens whom he met on the road; and after thus quenching his reſentment againſt the guilty in the blood of the innocent, he was conducted by the aſſiſtance of his friends to his native country. Polycharas takes vengeance on the Spartans.

He had not long returned to Andania, when ambaſſadors arrived from the Spartan ſenate, demanding the perſon of ſuch an atrocious and open offender. The Meſſenians aſſembled to deliberate on this requeſt; and Androcles and Antiochus, who were jointly inveſted with the regal power, having differed, as uſually happened, in their opinions, each prince was ſupported by the ſtrength of a numerous faction. The debate was decided by an expedient often adopted in ſuch tumultuary aſſemblies. Both parties had recourſe to arms, The Spartan ſenate demands his perſon.

CHAP. IV.

and the ſedition being fatal to Androcles, the opinion of Antiochus prevailed, who declared againſt delivering Polychares into the power of his enraged enemies. But Antiochus, though he denied the unreaſonable demand of the Spartan ambaſſadors, diſmiſſed them with a propoſal, which left them no room to complain of injuſtice. He offered, in the name of the Meſſenian aſſembly, to refer all the differences between the two nations to the reſpected council of the Amphictyons. This equitable propoſal, which ill ſuited the ambitious deſigns of Sparta, was not honored with an anſwer from that republic, who, deſirous to acquire the rich fields of Meſſenia, prepared for taking arms; and having completed her preparations, bound her citizens, by oath, never to deſiſt from hoſtility till they had effected their purpoſe[10].

The Meſſenians refuſe to comply, but offer to refer the diſpute to the Amphictyons.

Without an open declaration of war (for ambition had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of piety) they invaded the Meſſenian frontier, and attacked the ſmall town of Ampheia, which, from its advantageous ſituation on a rock, ſeemed equally proper for infeſting the enemy, and ſecuring their own retreat[11]. The time choſen for the aſſault was the dead of night, when the unſuſpecting inhabitants repoſed in full confidence of their accuſtomed ſecurity. There was neither centinel

The Spartans ſurpriſe Ampheia. Olymp. ix. 2. A. C. 743.

[10] Strabo expreſſes this oath ſtrongly but oddly, Ὀμοσαντες μη πρότερον επανηξειν οικαδε, πριν η Μεσσηνην αναλειν η παντας αποθανειν. "Having ſworn not to return home before that they either took Meſſene, or that they all died."

[11] Ὀμφαλιον επιτηδειον. PAUSAN.

at the gates, nor garriſon within the place. The alarm was immediately followed by execution. Many Ampheians were aſſaſſinated in their beds; ſeveral fled to the altars of the gods, the ſanctity of which proved a feeble protection againſt the Spartan cruelty; and a miſerable remnant eſcaped to diffuſe the melancholy tidings of their unexpected calamity. CHAP. IV.

Spirited reſolutions of the Meſſenians;

On this important emergency Euphaes, who had ſucceeded to the throne of his father Antiochus, ſummoned a general aſſembly of his countrymen to the plain of Stenyclara; where, after hearing the opinion of others concerning the critical ſituation of their affairs, he declared his own ſentiments, which were full of honor and magnanimity: "That the final event of the war was not "to be conjectured by its unfortunate beginning; "the Meſſenians, though leſs inured to arms than "their warlike opponents, would acquire both "ſkill and courage in purſuing the meaſures of a "juſt defence; and the gods, protectors of innocence, would make the ſtruggles of virtuous "liberty prevail over the rude aſſaults of violence "and ambition." The diſcourſe of Euphaes was received with ſhouts of applauſe; and the Meſſenians, by advice of their king, abandoned the open country, and ſettled in ſuch of their towns as were beſt fortified by art or nature, leaving the remainder to the invaſion of an enemy, with whoſe bravery and numbers their own weakneſs was yet unable to contend. But while they kept within their walls, they continued to exerciſe themſelves in

CHAP. IV.

arms, and to acquire such vigor and discipline, as might enable them to oppose the Spartans in the field. Four years elapsed from the taking of Ampheia before they ventured to embrace this dangerous measure. During all that time, the Spartans made annual incursions into their country, destroying their harvests, and carrying into captivity such straggling parties as they happened to surprise. They took care, however, not to demolish the houses, to cut down the wood, or otherwise to disfigure or desolate a country, which they already regarded as their own.

who determine to risk a battle; Olymp. x. 1. A. C. 740.

The Messenians, on the other hand, as their courage continued to increase, were not contented with defending their own walls, but detached, in small parties, the boldest of their warriors to ravage the sea-coast of Laconia. Encouraged by the success of these predatory expeditions, Euphaes determined to take the field with the flower of the Messenian nation. The army of freemen was attended by an innumerable crowd of slaves, carrying wood and other materials necessary for encampment. Thus prepared, they put themselves in motion; and, before they reached the frontier, were seen by the Spartan garrison of Ampheia, who immediately sounded the alarm of an approaching enemy. The Spartans flew to arms with more than their wonted alacrity, delighted with the opportunity for which they had so long wished in vain, of deciding, at one blow, the event of a tedious war. The hostile armies approached with a celerity proportioned to the fury of their

CHAP. IV.

resentment, and arrived, with high expectations, at the intermediate plain which overspread the confines of the two kingdoms. But there the martial ardor of the troops received a check, which had not been foreseen by their commanders. The rivulet, intersecting the plain, was swelled by the rains into a torrent. This circumstance prevented a general engagement. The cavalry alone (amounting on either side to about five hundred horse) passed near the head of the ravine, and contended in an indecisive skirmish; while the fury of the infantry evaporated in empty boasts and unavailing insults. Night insensibly came on, during which the Messenians fortified their camp with so much skill, that the enemy, rather than venture to storm it, preferred to return home, after an expedition, which, considering their superiority in numbers, appeared no less inglorious than ineffectual.

which proves indecisive.

The pusillanimous behaviour of the Spartan army deserved not the approbation of the senate. The severe fathers of the republic upbraided the degeneracy of the youth, who no longer paid regard to the sanctity of the oath which they had taken, never to lay down their arms until they had completely subdued the Messenians. The spirit of the senate was soon diffused through the community; and it was determined, in the general assembly of the nation, to prepare for carrying on a more fierce war than the enemy had yet experienced. At the approach of autumn, the season always preferred for the predatory expeditions of

Spartans prepare for carrying on the war with vigor.

CHAP. IV.

those early times, all the Spartans of military age, as well as the inhabitants of the subordinate towns of Laconia, known by the general name of Lacedæmonians, were ready to take the field. After leaving a sufficient body of troops for the internal safety of the country, the number that might be spared abroad, probably amounted to about twenty thousand men. This powerful army was still farther increased by the confluence of strangers, particularly the Aſſinians and Dryopians, who fled from the cruel tyranny of Argos, a republic no less blamable than Sparta, for oppressive severity towards her weaker neighbours. Besides this reinforcement, the Spartans hired a considerable body of archers from Crete, to oppose the horse and light infantry of the Messenians. The management of the expedition was intrusted to the Spartan kings Theopompus and Polydorus; the former of whom commanded the right, and the latter the left wing, while the central division was committed to the discretion and valor of Eurycleon, who, though born in Sparta, was descended of the royal race of Theban Cadmus.

Number of their forces.

Second engagement. Olymp. x. 2. A. C. 739.

Ancient writers have neglected to mention the scene of this second engagement, which Pausanias has, with more diffusiveness than accuracy, described in his historical journey through Messenia; but it is reasonable to conjecture, from this omission, that both the first and second battles happened near the same place, on the extensive plain which connects the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The Meſſenians were inferior, both in numbers and in diſcipline, but ardent in the cauſe of every thing moſt dear to them. Euphaes headed their left wing, which oppoſed the diviſion of Theopompus; Pytharatus led the right; and Cleonnis commanded the centre. Before the ſignal was given for charge, the commanders addreſſed their reſpective troops. Theopompus, with Laconic brevity, "reminded the Spartans of their oath, "and of the glory which their anceſtors had ac- "quired by ſubduing the territories of their neigh- "bours." Euphaes, at greater length, animated his ſoldiers to victory, by deſcribing the fatal conſequences of a defeat "Their lands and for- "tunes were not the only objects of contention: "they had already experienced the Spartan cruelty "in the unhappy fate of Ampheia, where all the "men of a military age had been put to the "ſword; the women, as well as the children, with "their aged parents, ſubjected to an ignominious "ſervitude; their temples burnt or plundered; "the city levelled with the ground; and the "country deſolated. The calamities, hitherto "confined to that little diſtrict, would be diffuſed "over the whole of their beautiful territory, unleſs "the active bravery of Meſſenia ſhould now, by a "noble effort of patriotiſm, overcome the num- "bers and diſcipline of Sparta." Encouraged by the ardor of their prince, the Meſſenians rather ran than marched to the battle. As they approached the enemy, they threatened them with their eyes and geſtures, reproaching them with an

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

insatiable avidity for wealth and power, an unnatural disregard to the ties of blood, an impious contempt for their common gods, and particularly for the revered name of Hercules; the acknowledged founder and patron of both kingdoms. From words of reproach they made an easy transition to deeds of violence. Many quitted their ranks, and assailed the embattled phalanx of the Spartans. The wounded spent the last exertions[12] of their strength in signal acts of vengeance, or employed their last breath in conjuring their companions to imitate the example of their bravery; and to maintain, by an honorable death, the safety and renown of their country. To the generous ardor of the Messenians, Sparta opposed the assured intrepidity of disciplined valor. Her citizens, inured to the use of arms, closed their ranks, and remained firm in their respective posts. Where the enemy in any part gave way, they followed them with an undisturbed progress; and endeavoured, by the continuance of regular exertion, to overcome the desultory efforts of rage, fury, and despair[13].

Fierceness and obstinacy of the combatants.

Such were the principal differences in the sentiments and conduct of two armies, both of which

[12] Agreeably to the melancholy firmness of the advice afterwards given by Tyrtæus to the Spartans,

Και τις αποθνησκων υξατ' ακοντισατο.

TYRTÆUS, edit. Glas. p. 4. ver. 5.

[13] The mode of fighting in that age is forcibly described by Tyrtæus, p. 7. edit. Glas. Αλλα τις εν διαβας μενετω ποσι αμφοτερσισι, to the end of the poem.

were alike animated by the love of glory and the desire of vengeance; passions which they carried to such a length, that there was no example, on either side, of a soldier who deigned to seek for quarter, or who attempted to sooth, by the promise of a large ransom, the unrelenting cruelty of the victors. Emulation and avarice conspired in despoiling the bodies of the slain. Amidst this barbarous employment, which custom only rendered honorable, many met with an untimely fate; for while they stripped the dead with the rashness of blind avidity, they often exposed their own persons to the darts and swords of their enemies; and sometimes the dying, by a fortunate wound, soothed the agonies of the present moment, and retaliated their past sufferings on their unguarded despoilers. CHAP. IV.

The kings, who had hitherto been satisfied with leading their troops to action, and sharing the common danger, longed, as the battle began to warm, to signalize their valor in single combat. With this design Theopompus, listening only to his courage, first marched towards Euphaes, who, seeing him approach, cried out to his companions; "Does not Theopompus well imitate the bloody-"minded Polynices [26], who, at the head of an "army of strangers, levied war against his native "country, and, with his own hand, slew a bro-"ther, by whom, at the same instant, he himself "was slain? In like manner does Theopompus, "with unnatural hatred, persecute his kinsmen

The Spartan and Messenian kings prepare to engage in single combat.

[26] See above, p. 26.

CHAP. IV.

"of the race of Hercules; but I truſt he ſhall "meet the puniſhment due to his impiety." At ſight of this intereſting ſpectacle, the troops were inſpired with new ardor, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The choſen bands, who reſpectively watched the ſafety of the contending princes, became inſenſible to perſonal danger, and only ſolicitous to preſerve the ſacred perſons of their kings. The ſtrength of Sparta, at length, began to yield to the activity of her rivals. The troops of Theopompus were broken and thrown into diſorder; and the reluctant prince was himſelf compelled to retire. At the ſame time the right wing of the Meſſenians, having loſt their leader Pytharatus, yielded to the exertions of Polydorus and his Spartans: But neither this general, nor king Euphaes, thought proper to purſue the flying enemy. It ſeemed more expedient to ſtrengthen, with their victorious troops, the central diviſions of their reſpective armies, which ſtill continued to fight with obſtinate valor, and doubtful ſucceſs. Night at length put an end to the engagement, which had proved extremely humiliating to both parties; for next morning neither offered to renew the battle, neither ventured to erect a trophy of victory; while both craved a ſuſpenſion of arms, for the purpoſe of interring the dead; a demand generally conſtrued as an acknowledgment of defeat.

prevented by the ardor of their troops.

Extraordinary iſſue of the battle.

Its remote conſequences.

Although the immediate effects of the battle were alike deſtructive to the Spartans and to the Meſſenians, its remote conſequences were peculiarly

ruinous to the latter. They were leſs rich and leſs numerous than their opponents; their army could not be recruited with the ſame facility; many of their ſlaves were bribed into the enemy's ſervice; and a peſtilential diſtemper, concurring with other misfortunes, reduced them to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The Spartans, meanwhile, carried on their annual incurſions with more than uſual cruelty, involving the huſbandman, with his labors, in undiſtinguiſhed ruin, and deſtroying by fire and ſword the wretched inhabitants of the unfortified cities. The miſerable ravages to which theſe cities were continually expoſed, obliged the Meſſenians to abandon them, and to ſeek refuge among the almoſt inacceſſible mountains of Ithome; a place which, though ſituate near the frontiers of Laconia, afforded them the ſecureſt retreat amidſt their preſent calamities, being ſtrongly fortified by nature, and ſurrounded by a wall, which bid defiance to the battering engines known in that early age.

The Meſſenians ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs Ithome.

The Meſſenians, thus defended againſt external aſſaults, were ſtill expoſed to the danger of periſhing by famine. The apprehenſion of this new calamity gave additional poignancy to the feelings of their unhappy ſituation, and increaſed the horrors of the peſtilence which raged more fiercely than ever among men cooped up within a narrow fortreſs. Under the preſſure of preſent, and the dread of future evil, their minds were favorably diſpoſed for admitting the terrors of ſuperſtition. A meſſenger was ſent to Delphi to inquire by what

Their ſufferings there.

CHAP. IV.

sacrifice they might appeaſe the reſentment of the angry gods. On his return to Ithomè, he declared the ſtern anſwer of the god, which demanded the innocent blood of a virgin of the royal race. The Meſſenians prepared, in full aſſembly, to obey the horrid mandate. The lots were caſt, and the daughter of Lyciſcus was declared worthy of atoning, by her blood, for the ſins of the prince and people: But the father, who was only a diſtant branch of the royal family, allowed his paternal affection to prevail over the dictates of both his patriotiſm and his piety. By his advice, Ephebolus, a diviner, oppoſed the ſacrifice, aſſerting that the pretended princeſs was not what ſhe appeared, but a ſuppoſititious child, whom the artifice of the wife of Lyciſcus had adopted to conceal her barrenneſs. While the remonſtrances of the diviner engaged the attention of the aſſembly, Lyciſcus privately withdrew his daughter, and, eſcaping unobſerved through the gates of Ithomè, ſought protection, againſt the cruelty of fortune and of his friends, among the unrelenting enemies of his country.

Prepare to ſacrifice a virgin of the royal blood,

who is withdrawn by her father.

He had already made conſiderable progreſs in his journey towards Sparta, when the diſcovery of his departure threw the Meſſenians into great conſternation; nor is it eaſy to determine what might have been the effect of their ſuperſtitious terrors, had not Ariſtodemus, another branch of the Herculean ſtock, and ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed by birth than merit, voluntarily offered to devote his own child for the public ſafety. But this ſacrifice was

Ariſtodemus devotes his own daughter.

likewiſe oppoſed by a youth, who, paſſionately in love with the intended victim, cried out, that the young lady had been betrothed to him, and that it belonged to her deſtined huſband, not to her inhuman father, to diſpoſe of her life and fortune. When his noiſy clamors were little regarded by the aſſembly, he had the effrontery to aſſert, that the daughter of Ariſtodemus could not anſwer the condition required by the oracle; that, even before the nuptial rites had been conſummated, ſhe had pitied the violence of his paſſion, and that now ſhe carried in her womb the fruit of their unhappy loves. Ariſtodemus, hearing this declaration, was ſeized with rage and indignation at the unmerited diſgrace thrown on his family. "It "then appeared," ſays an ancient author [15], "with what eaſe deſtiny tarniſhes the feeble "virtues of men, as the ſlime of a river does "the ſhining ornaments which cover its humid "bed." The angry father plunged his dagger into the breaſt of his unfortunate daughter, and, with horrid barbarity, opening her womb in the preſence of the amazed aſſembly, demanded juſtice on the infamous impoſtor who had traduced her virtue. The Meſſenians were ſtill farther irritated againſt the youth, in conſequence of the opinion of Ephebolus, who declared that another victim muſt be ſought to appeaſe the anger of the gods, becauſe Ariſtodemus had ſacrificed his

CHAP. IV.

Her lover oppoſes this deſign.

She is ſlain by her father.

[15] Pauſanias, p. 232. This might ſatisfy the ſuperſtition of antiquity, but will appear, in modern times, a poor excuſe for ſuch a ſhocking barbarity.

CHAP. IV.

daughter, not in obedience to the oracle, but to gratify the impetuous paſſion of his own ungovernable ſoul. The rage of the aſſembly would have ſpeedily ſent the lover to attend the ſhade of his miſtreſs; but fortunately he was beloved and pitied by king Euphaes, whoſe authority controuled, on this occaſion, the audacious inſolence of a prieſt, and checked the wild fury of the populace. The king aſſerted that Apollo had reaſon to complain of their diſobedience: The god demanded the blood of a virgin, a virgin had been ſlain; but neither did the Pythia determine, nor belonged it to them to inquire, by whoſe hands, or from what motive, the victim ſhould be put to death.

Obſtinate defence of the Meſſenians,

The oracle, thus favorably interpreted by the wiſdom of the prince, not only allayed the frantic rage, but reſtored the fainting hopes, of the people. They determined to defend their capital to the laſt extremity; and this generous reſolution, which they maintained inviolate during the courſe of ſeveral years, was juſtified by obſtinate exertions of valor.

who procure aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.

The ſpirited and perſevering efforts of the Meſſenians, as well as the proud tyranny of Sparta, tended to procure, to the weaker ſtate, ſeveral uſeful alliances among the neighbouring republics. Of all the communities inhabiting the Peloponneſus, the Corinthians alone, as a maritime and commercial people, entertained little jealouſy of the Spartans; while the Argives and Arcadians, from proximity of ſituation, as well as interference

of intereſt and ambition, held the diſciples of Lycurgus in peculiar deteſtation. By the aſſiſtance of theſe powerful allies, the Meſſenians gained conſiderable advantages in two general engagements; in the former of which their king Euphaes, betrayed by the ardor of ſucceſs into an unequal combat, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the action. The valor of Ariſtodemus was called by the voice of the people to fill the vacant throne; and his conduct in war juſtified the high opinion entertained of him by his countrymen. For five years he baffled the aſpiring hopes of the Spartans; defeated them in ſeveral deſultory rencounters; and, in a pitched battle, fought near the walls of Ithomè, overcame the principal ſtrength of their republic, aſſiſted by that of the Corinthians.

CHAP. IV.

Their tranſient ſucceſs.

This victory, though obtained by ſtratagem rather than by ſuperiority of courage or diſcipline, threw the Spartan ſenate into the greateſt perplexity, and deprived them of the expectation of putting a ſpeedy, or even a fortunate, end to the war. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to the ſame oracle, which had relieved the afflictions of the Meſſenians. As the policy of the god ſeldom ſent away, in ill humor, the votaries of his ſhrine, the deſtruction of Ithomè was announced with prophetic obſcurity. The Spartans, with revived hopes, again took the field; and their new ardor was ſucceſsful in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Meſſenians, who, haraſſed by an open, were ſtill more fatally oppreſſed by a ſecret foe. The people were

Ithomè at length ſurrenders.

CHAP. IV.

again seized with superstitious terrors. Dreams, visions, and other prodigies confirmed the melancholy prediction of Apollo. The impatient temper of Aristodemus made him withdraw, by a voluntary death, from the evils which threatened his country. The other leaders of greatest renown had perished in the field. Ithomè, deprived of its principal support, and invested more closely than before, was compelled, after a siege of five months, to submit to the slow but irresistible impressions of famine. Such of its inhabitants as were entitled to the benefit of hospitality in Sicyon, Argos, or Arcadia, travelled with all possible expedition into those countries. The sacred families, who were attached to the ministry of Ceres, sought a secure refuge among the venerable priests of Eleusis, in Attica. The greater part of the people dispersed themselves through the interior towns and villages, endeavouring, in the obscurity of their ancient habitations, to elude the industrious search of an unrelenting enemy [16].

Olymp. xiv. 2. A. C. 724.

Consequences of the first Messenian war.

The Lacedæmonians, having thus obtained possession of the Messenian capital, discovered signal gratitude to their gods, fidelity to their allies, and cruelty to their enemies. Ithomè was demolished to the foundation. Of its spoil, three tripods were consecrated to Amyclean Apollo. The first was adorned with the image of Venus, the second with that of Diana, and the third with the figures of Ceres and Proserpine. To the

[16] Pausan. Messen. et Strabo, l. viii.

Assinians,

Aſſinians, who had aſſiſted them with peculiar alacrity in the war, the Spartans gave that beautiful portion of the Meſſenian coaſt, which aſſumed, and long retained, the name of its new inhabitants. They rewarded the good intentions of the Meſſenian Androcles, who, at the commencement of the war, had diſcovered his partiality for Sparta, by beſtowing on his deſcendants the fertile diſtrict Hyamia. The reſt of the Meſſenian nation were treated with all the rigor of Spartan policy. They were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their proud victors, to preſent them every year with half the produce of their ſoil, and, under pain of the ſevereſt puniſhment, to appear in mourning habits, at the funerals of the Spartan kings and magiſtrates [17].

CHAP. IV.

After the cloſe of the firſt Meſſenian war, Greece appears, for ſeveral years, to have enjoyed an unuſual degree of tranquillity. Peace promoted population; and the inhabitants of Peloponneſus continued to diffuſe their numerous colonies over the iſlands of Sicily and Corcyra, as well as over the ſouthern diviſion of Italy, afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia [18]. In this delicious country two conſiderable eſtabliſhments were formed, about

State of Greece at that time.

[17] Pauſan. ibid.

[18] This name, as will be proved hereafter, denoted the Greek ſettlements both in Italy and Sicily. The colonies there became, in progreſs of time, perhaps more conſiderable than the mother-country. Their proceedings will be fully related in the following work; but not until their tranſactions enter into the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

CHAP. IV.

the ſame time, the one at Rhegium, and the other at Tarentum. Rhegium, ſituate on the ſouthern extremity of the continent, ſoon acquired the aſcendant over the neighbouring cities; and Tarentum, having become the moſt powerful community on the eaſtern coaſt, had the honor of giving name to the ſpacious bay, which penetrates ſo deeply into Italy, that it almoſt unites the Tuſcan and the Ionian ſeas.

The particular cauſes which occaſioned, or the various conſequences which attended, theſe ſeveral migrations, are not related in ancient hiſtory; the Lacedæmonian eſtabliſhment at Tarentum was alone marked by ſuch circumſtances as have merited, on account of their ſingularity, to be handed down to ſucceeding ages.

The Lacedæmonians found Tarentum in Italy.

During the ſecond expedition [19] of the Spartans againſt Meſſenia, the army, conſiſting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themſelves, by oath, not to return home until they had ſubdued their enemies. This engagement detained them ſeveral years in the field, during which Sparta, inhabited only by women, children, and helpleſs old men, produced no ſucceeding generation to ſupport the future glories of the republic. Senſible of this inconvenience, which, in a warlike and ambitious ſtate, ſurrounded by warlike and ambitious rivals, might

[19] They had taken the ſame oath in the firſt expedition: but it appears from Pauſanias, that they did not obſerve it. The ſenators upbraided the youth with cowardice and contempt of their oath, διελοιδορησαν τε ὁρκῳ ὑπερβασιν. PAUSAN. p 228.

have been productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, the ſenate recalled ſuch young men as, having left their country before they had attained the military age, were not under any obligation to keep the field; and enjoined them to aſſociate promiſcuouſly with the married women, that the city might thus be preſerved from decay and deſolation. The children born of theſe uſeful, though irregular connexions, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Partheniæ; probably denoting the condition of their mothers [20]. They had no certain father; nor were they entitled, though citizens of Sparta, to any private inheritance. Theſe circumſtances kept them a diſtinct body, the members of which were attached by the ſtricteſt friendſhip to each other, and hoſtile to the reſt of the community. CHAP. IV.

Conſpiracy of the Partheniæ and Helots.

This dangerous diſpoſition was ſtill farther increaſed by the imprudent behaviour of the Spartans, who, on their return from the conqueſt of Meſſenia, treated the Partheniæ with the moſt ſupercilious contempt. The young men could endure poverty and misfortune, but could not brook diſgrace. Their unhappy ſituation, and the impatience with which they ſubmitted to it, naturally connected them with the Helots, thoſe miſerable ſlaves whoſe juſt indignation ever prompted them to revolt from the cruel tyranny of their maſters. A conſpiracy was formed; the

[20] Παρθενιαι. Filius natus ex ea, quæ quum duceretur, virgo non erat. ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 7.

CHAP. IV.

day, place, and signal were determined, upon which the Partheniæ and Helots, armed with concealed daggers, and with the most hostile fury, should retaliate, in the public assembly, their past sufferings and insults on the unsuspecting superiority of the proud lords of Sparta. The time approached, and the design was ripe for execution, when the president of the assembly ordered the crier to proclaim, That none present should throw up his cap (for that had been the signal appointed by the conspirators); and thus clearly intimated that the plot had been discovered, and that the Spartans were prepared to meet and to overcome the dangerous treachery of their dependants. We are not informed of the punishment inflicted on the Helots, or whether, as the conspiracy had been laid open by one of their number, the merit of an individual was allowed to atone for the guilt of the society. The Partheniæ, however, were treated with a remarkable degree of lenity, suggested, probably, by the fears, rather than by the humanity of Sparta [21]. They were not only allowed to escape unpunished from their native country, but furnished with every thing necessary for undertaking a successful expedition against the neighbouring coasts; and thus enabled to establish themselves under their leader Phalantus, in the delightful recesses of the Tarentine gulph [22].

[21] Ephor. apud Strab. l. vi.

[22] Pausan. Phoc.

CHAP. IV.

The Messenians prepare to revolt.

The Spartans, when delivered from the danger of this formidable conspiracy, enjoyed, above thirty years, domestic as well as public peace, until again disturbed by the revolt of the Messenians. The dishonorable conditions imposed on that people, the toilsome labors to which most of them were necessarily condemned, in order to produce the expected tribute; the natural fertility of the soil, augmented by industry, and augmenting in its turn the populousness of the country; all these causes conspired to sharpen their resentment, to embitter their hostility, and to determine them, at every hazard, to expose their fortune to the decision of the sword. The negligence of Sparta was favorable to the progress of rebellion. While she degraded the Messenians by the most humiliating marks of servitude, she allowed them, however, to rebuild their cities, to assemble in the public places, and to communicate to each other their mutual grievances and complaints. To reward the services of Androcles, the Messenian king, she had bestowed on his family the rich province of Hyamia; but the descendants of that prince preferring the duties of patriotism to the dictates of gratitude, countenanced and encouraged the warlike dispositions of his countrymen. The young men of Andania longed to take up arms. They were headed by Aristomenes, a youth descended from the ancient line of Messenian kings, adorned with the most extraordinary qualities of mind and body, and whose exploits, if instead of being sung by Rhianus, and related by Pausanias, they

Olymp. xxiii. 4. A. C. 685.

CHAP. IV.

had been described by Xenophon, or celebrated by Homer, would place him in the first rank of Grecian heroes.

Obtain assistance from the Argives and Arcadians.

In entering upon this memorable war the Messenians consulted the dictates of prudence, at the same time that they indulged the motives of animosity and ambition. Before discovering their intention to take arms, they dispatched messengers to the Arcadians and Argives, intimating their inclination to throw off the yoke of Sparta, provided they could depend on the hearty assistance of their ancient allies. The Argives and Arcadians were naturally enemies to their warlike and ambitious neighbours; and, at this particular juncture, the enmity of the former towards Sparta was, by recent injuries, kindled into resentment. Both nations confirmed, by the most flattering promises, the resolution of the Messenians, who, with uncommon unanimity and concert, fought deliverance from the oppressive severity of their tyrants.

The battle of Derae.

The first engagement was fought at Derae, a village of Messenia. The soldiers, on both sides, behaved with equal bravery; the victory was doubtful; but Aristomenes, the Messenian, acquired unrivalled glory and renown. On the field of battle he was saluted king by the admiring gratitude of his countrymen. He declined, however, the dangerous honors of royalty, declaring himself satisfied with the appellation of General, which, in that age, implied a superiority in martial exercises, as well as in the knowledge

Bravery and moderation of Aristomenes.

of war, and in the experience of command. The Meſſenian excelled in all theſe, and poſſeſſed, beſides, a degree of military enthuſiaſm, which, as it was employed to retrieve the deſperate affairs of his country, deſerves to be for ever remembered and admired. Senſible how much depended on the auſpicious beginning of the war, he immediately marched to Sparta, entered the city, which was neither walled nor lighted, during night, and ſuſpended in the temple of Minerva a buckler, inſcribed with his name, as a monument of his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and an offering to procure the good-will of that warlike goddeſs.

The singular exploits of Panormus and Gonippus.

The hardineſs of this exploit was rivalled by the ſingular intrepidity of his companions Panormus and Gonippus. While the Lacedæmonians celebrated, in their camp, the feſtival of their heroes Caſtor and Pollux, the two youths of Andania, mounted on fiery ſteeds, with lances in their hands, and a purple mantle flowing over their white veſtments, preſented themſelves in the midſt of the joyous aſſembly. The ſuperſtitious crowd, diſſolved in mirth and wine, imagined that their heavenly protectors had appeared in a human form, in order to grace the feſtival eſtabliſhed in their honor[31]. As they approached, unarmed, to pay their obeiſance to the divine brothers of Helen, the young Meſſenians couched their ſpears, attacked

[31] Pauſanias, p. 266. However ſurpriſing this credulity may appear in the preſent age, it is atteſted by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. Striking inſtances of it will occur in later periods of the Greek hiſtory.

CHAP. IV.

the multitude with irresistible fury, slew them with their weapons, or trod them down with their horses, and, before the assembly recovered from its surprise and consternation, set out, in triumph, on their return to Andania.

The Spartans alarmed have recourse to the oracle.

These exploits, and others of a similar kind, which are not particularly recorded, were sufficient to alarm the fears of the Spartans, and to make them seek the advice of Apollo. The oracle, when consulted by what means they might change the success of the war, ordered them to demand a general from Athens; a response highly mortifying to the high Spartan spirit, as their own kings, descended from Hercules, were the constitutional commanders of their armies. In compliance, however, with the mandate of the god, the haughtiness of Sparta was obliged to make a request which the jealousy of Athens durst not venture to refuse. The Athenians, when informed of the oracle, immediately dispatched to Sparta, Tyrtæus, a man who, like every Athenian citizen, had, indeed, borne arms, but who had never been distinguished by any rank in the army. He was chiefly known to his fellow-citizens as a poet; a character in which he has been justly admired by succeeding ages.[1] Among the Spartans, however,

Olymp. xxiv. 2. A. C. 623.

The Athenians send them Tyrtæus, the poet.

[1] Fuligus Homerus,
Tyrtæusque mares animos in martia bella,
Versibus exacuit. HOR.

Three poems of Tyrtæus, containing the praise of valor, are preserved in Stobæus; a fourth on the same subject, is the only oration now remaining of Lycurgus the Athenian orator, the friend and rival of Demosthenes. A few detached couplets may also be read in Strabo and Pausanias.

he was regarded as the ſacred meſſenger of the divinity; and his verſes were ſuppoſed to convey the inſtructions and ſentiments inſpired by his heavenly protector. CHAP. IV.

Succeſs of the Meſſenians under their heroic Ariſtomenes.

The heroic valor of Ariſtomenes long continued to prevail againſt the force of the oracle, as well as againſt all the other enemies of Meſſenia. He defeated the Spartans in three ſucceſſive engagements, the circumſtances of which are ſo ſimilar, that they have frequently been confounded with each other. They were all fought in the plain of Stenyclara, and the moſt remarkable at a place called the Boar's Monument, from a tradition that Hercules had anciently ſacrificed there an animal of that ſpecies. The Meſſenians were reinforced by the aſſiſtance of their allies of Elis and Sicyon, as well as of Argos and Arcadia. The Spartans were followed by the Corinthians, their ancient confederates, and by the citizens of Leprea, who choſe to ſeek the protection of Sparta, rather than ſubmit to the government of Elis. The combined army was commanded by Anaxander the Spartan king, whoſe influence, however, was rivalled by the authority of Hecataeus the diviner, and of Tyrtæus the poet. The Meſſenians had not a poet worthy of being oppoſed to Tyrtæus; but the predictions of their diviner Theocles were able, on ſome occaſions, to promote or to reſtrain the ardor of Ariſtomenes himſelf.

The ſucceſs of the engagement was chiefly owing to the ſpirited exertion of the Meſſenian general. At the head of a ſmall band of choſen

CHAP. IV.

companions, he charged the principal diviſion of the Spartan army, commanded by the king in perſon. The reſiſtance was obſtinate, and laſted for ſeveral hours. When the Spartans began to give way, Ariſtomenes ordered a new body of troops to complete his ſucceſs, to rout and purſue the enemy. He, with his little but determined band, attacked a ſecond diviſion of the Lacedæmonians, which ſtill continued firm in its poſt. Having compelled theſe alſo to retreat, he, with amazing rapidity, turned the valor of his troops againſt a third, and then againſt a fourth brigade [25], both of which giving ground, the whole army was put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The merit of theſe atchievements was, on the return of Ariſtomenes, celebrated with great pomp at Andania. The men received their favorite hero with joyous acclamations; and the women, ſtrowing his way with flowers, ſung in his praiſe a ſtanza that has reached modern times, expreſſing, with elegant ſimplicity, the glorious victory obtained over the Lacedæmonians.

The tribute of juſt applauſe paid to the virtues of Ariſtomenes inſpired him with a generous ambition to deſerve the ſincereſt gratitude of his countrymen. With unremitting activity he continued, with his little band of faithful adherents,

[25] Pauſanias acknowledges that the exploits of Ariſtomenes, in this engagement, almoſt exceed belief. Pauſan. Meſſen. There is a remarkable coincidence in the character and exploits, as well as in the ſituation, of Ariſtomenes, and thoſe of the celebrated Scottiſh patriot Wallace. Vid. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. paſſim.

to over-run the hoſtile territory, to deſtroy the defenceleſs villages, and to carry the inhabitants into ſervitude. The towns of Pharæ, Carya, and Egila ſucceſſively experienced the fatal effects of his ravages. In the firſt, he found a conſiderable booty, in money and commodities; in the ſecond, he found a booty ſtill more precious, the daughters of the principal inhabitants dancing in the chorus of Diana, whom he honorably protected againſt the licentious violence of his followers, and reſtored, uninjured, for the ranſom offered by their parents. After attacking Egila, Ariſtomenes met with an unexpected check from the enthuſiaſm of the Spartan matrons, who were offering ſacrifice to Ceres in a neighbouring temple, long held in peculiar veneration. As ſoon as they perceived the approach of the enemy, the women, who, according to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, had been trained to all the manly exerciſes of the other ſex, iſſued forth from the temple, and aſſailing the Meſſenians with knives, hatchets, burning torches, and the other inſtruments of ſacrifice, threw them into diſorder, wounded ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and ſeized the perſon of their commander. Next day, however, Ariſtomenes was delivered from captivity, through the good offices of Archidamea, prieſteſs of Ceres, whoſe ſuſceptible heart had long admired and loved the merit and renown of the brave Meſſenian.

The amazing ſucceſs of the Meſſenians, which, in the courſe of three years had been interrupted

The Spartans animated by Tyrtæus.

CHAP. IV. only by this inconſiderable accident, diſpoſed the Spartan kings to abandon the war, and to allow their enemies to enjoy the honor and advantages which they had ſo bravely earned. This reſolution was approved by the ſenate and aſſembly. The allies of Sparta readily adopted the ſame opinion. Tyrtæus alone oppoſed the diſgraceful meaſure, with all the force of his authority. The ſacred character of the bard, with the divine influence of his poetry, prevailed; and the Spartans again entered Meſſenia with an army, as numerous and powerful as any they had before collected. But at ſight of the Meſſenian troops, headed by Ariſtomenes, they were thrown into new conſternation. The dreaded proweſs of their heroic antagoniſt, which they had ſo often and ſo fatally experienced, continually preſented itſelf to their minds; and the inſpired arts of Tyrtæus were again neceſſary to reſiſt the increaſing panic. A ſecond time he revived their drooping courage, while he expatiated on the glory of ancient warriors; the magnanimity of deſpiſing fortune; the praiſe and honors of valor; the joys and rewards of victory [a]. Theſe ſentiments, dictated by the true ſpirit of heroiſm, fired their minds with martial ardor. Diſregarding the ſweets of life, they longed for an honorable death. One conſideration only (ſuch was the ſuperſtition of ancient times) damped the generous warmth that animated their ſouls. In an engagement, which there was every reaſon to believe

[a] Tyrtæus, p. 2 and 3. edit. Glaſg.

would be fought with the moſt obſtinate valor on both ſides, what crowds of warriors muſt fall, whoſe bodies, heaped together in horrid confuſion, could not be recogniſed by their friends, or obtain, with due ſolemnity, the ſacred rites of funeral! This melancholy thought, which chilled the boldeſt heart with religious horror, might have formed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſucceſs, had not their terrors been removed by the prudent miſſionary of Apollo. By the advice of Tyrtæus, each ſoldier tied a token, inſcribed with his name and deſignation, round his right arm, by means of which his body, however diſfigured [47], might be known to his friends and kindred. Thus fortified againſt the only illuſion that could alarm the minds of men who preferred death to a defeat, they ruſhed forward to attack their dreaded, and hitherto victorious, foes. CHAP. IV.

The Meſſenian general had drawn up his forces at a place called the Great Ditch, from which this engagement has been called the battle of the Trenches [48]. The national ſtrength was reinforced by a conſiderable body of Arcadian troops, commanded by their king Ariſtocrates, to whoſe treachery, as much as to their own valor, the Spartans were indebted for the victory. The battle of the Trenches.

The Spartans, though poſſeſſed of little private wealth, had a conſiderable public treaſure, with which they early began to bribe thoſe whom they Treachery of Ariſtocrates, leader of the Arcadians.

[47] Confuſa corporum lineamenta. JUSTIN.

[48] Polybius, l. iv. Strabo, l. viii.

CHAP. IV.

deſpaired to conquer. With this, perhaps, on many former occaſions, they had tempted the avarice of Ariſtocrates, who, from want of opportunity rather than of inclination to betray, had hitherto maintained his fidelity inviolate. But when he perceived the unuſual ardor which animated the enemy; and reflected, that if, without his concurrence, victory ſhould declare itſelf on *their* ſide, he might for ever be deprived of an occaſion to earn the wages of his intended iniquity, he determined to abandon his ancient allies, and to enſure ſucceſs to the Lacedæmonians. In ſight of the two armies he explained and exaggerated to his troops the advantageous poſition of the Spartans; the difficulty of a retreat, in caſe they themſelves were obliged to give ground; and the inauſpicious omens which threatened deſtruction to Meſſené. In order to avoid the ruin ready to overtake their allies, he commanded his men to be prepared to follow him on the firſt ſignal for the engagement. When the charge was ſounded, and the Meſſenians were preparing to reſiſt the firſt onſet of the enemy, Ariſtocrates led off his Arcadians; and, to make his defection more apparent, croſſed the whole Meſſenian army. The Meſſenians, confounded with a treachery ſo bold and manifeſt, almoſt forgot that they were contending againſt the Spartans. Many forſook their ranks, and ran after the Arcadians, ſometimes conjuring them to return to their duty, and ſometimes reproaching them with their perfidious ingratitude. Their entreaties and inſults were alike vain; their

The Meſſenians defeated.

army was ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide; the little band of Ariſtomenes alone, with pertinacious valor, reſiſting the efforts, and breaking through the embattled ſquadrons, of the enemy. Their example encouraged others of their countrymen to effect an eſcape by equal bravery; but, in attempting this dangerous meaſure, the greater part of the ſoldiers periſhed, as well as the generals Androcles, Phintas, and Phanas, perſons deſcended from the ancient ſtock of Meſſenian nobility, and who, next to Ariſtomenes, formed the principal ornament and defence of their declining country. CHAP. IV.

Magnanimity of Ariſtomenes.

Among the republics of ancient Greece, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops, who regarded war as a trade, which they carried on merely from intereſt, without emulation or reſentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men. In ſuch a ſtruggle they exerted the utmoſt efforts of their animoſity as well as of their ſtrength; nor did the conflict ceaſe, till the one party had reduced the other to extremity. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that after the bloody battle of the Trenches, the Meſſenians ſhould be unable to keep the field. Ariſtomenes, however, determined, while he preſerved his life, to maintain his independence. With this view he collected the miſerable remains of his unfortunate troops; aſſembled the ſcattered inhabitants of the open country; abandoned the cities and villages on

CHAP. IV.

the plain to the mercy of the victors; and ſeized, with his little army, the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira, ſituate among the mountains which riſe along the ſouthern ſhore of Meſſenia, defended on the north by the river Neda, and open only on the ſouth towards the harbours of Pylus and Methone, which offered it a plentiful ſupply of corn, fiſh, and other neceſſary proviſions.

he throws himſelf into the fortreſs of Eira;

A. C. 682—671.

In this ſituation the gallant Meſſenian reſiſted, for eleven years, the efforts of the Spartans, who endeavoured, with unremitting induſtry, to become maſters of the fortreſs. Nor was he ſatisfied with defending the place; on various occaſions he made vigorous and ſucceſsful ſallies againſt the beſiegers. With a body of three hundred Meſſenians, of tried valor and fidelity, he, at different times, over-ran the Spartan territories, and plundered ſuch cities as were either weakly garriſoned or negligently defended. In order to put a ſtop to incurſions equally diſhonorable and deſtructive, the Spartans ordered their frontier to be laid waſte, and thus rendered incapable of affording ſubſiſtence to the enemy. But they themſelves were the firſt to feel the inconvenience of this meaſure. As the lands towards that frontier were the moſt fertile in the province, and the crops in other parts had failed through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the Spartans were threatened with all the calamities of famine; to which the proprietors of the waſted grounds, deprived of their harveſts by a rigorous injunction of the ſtate, were prepared to add the horrors of a ſedition. Tyrtæus diſplayed, on this occaſion,

ravages the Spartan territories;

occaſion, the wonderful power of his art, by appeaſing the angry tumult, and teaching the Spartans patiently to bear, in the ſervice of their country, the loſs of fortune, as well as of life. CHAP. IV.

and plunders Amyclæ.

While the enemy were diſturbed by theſe commotions, Ariſtomenes ſet out from Eira, with his favorite band, and, marching all night, arrived by day-break at Amyclæ, a Lacedæmonian city, ſituate on the banks of the Eurotas, at the diſtance of a few miles from the capital. Having entered the place without reſiſtance, he carried off a conſiderable booty in ſlaves and merchandiſe, and returned to his mountains, before the Spartans, though appriſed of his incurſion, could arrive to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours.

Ariſtomenes taken priſoner.

A continued ſeries of ſuch exploits, carried on with equal ſucceſs, inſpired into the Meſſenians a degree of confidence, which had almoſt proved fatal to their cauſe. Neglecting that celerity, and thoſe precautions, to which they owed their paſt advantages, they began to continue ſo long in the field, that the Spartans found an opportunity to intercept their return. The little band of Ariſtomenes behaved with its uſual gallantry, and long defended itſelf againſt far ſuperior numbers, headed by the two kings of Sparta. The commander, after receiving many wounds, was taken priſoner; and, with fifty of his braveſt companions, carried in chains to the Lacedæmonian capital. The reſentment of that republic againſt thoſe who had inflicted on her ſuch dreadful calamities, was not to be gratified by an ordinary puniſhment. After

CHAP. IV.

Thrown into the Ceada.

much deliberation, the priſoners were thrown, alive, into the Ceada; a profound cavern, which was commonly employed as a receptacle for the moſt atrocious criminals. All the companions of Ariſtomenes were killed by the fall; he alone was preſerved by an accident, which, though natural enough in itſelf, has been diſfigured by many fabulous circumſtances [39]. The Spartans, who loved valor even in an enemy, permitted him, at his earneſt deſire, to be buried with his ſhield; a weapon of defence held in peculiar veneration by the Grecian ſoldiers. As he deſcended into the deep cavity, the edge or boſs of his ample buckler, ſtriking againſt the ſides of the pit, broke the force of the fall, and ſaved his life. Two days he continued in this miſerable dungeon, amidſt the ſtench and horror of dead bodies, his face covered with his cloak, waiting the ſlow approaches of certain death. The third day (at day-break) he heard a noiſe, and looking up, perceived a fox devouring the mangled remains of his companions. He allowed the animal to approach him, and catching hold of it with one hand, while he defended himſelf againſt its bite with the other, he determined to follow wherever it ſhould conduct him. The fox drew towards a chink in the rock, by which he had entered the cavity, and through which he intended to get out. Ariſtomenes then

His wonderful preſervation and eſcape.

[39] An eagle, it is ſaid, flew to his relief, which aroſe from his having a ſpread eagle on his ſhield. Pauſanias ſays, he ſaw the ſhield, which was preſerved in the ſubterraneous chapel of Trophonius at Labedea.

gave liberty to his guide, whom he followed with much difficulty, ſcrambling through the paſſage which had been opened for his deliverance. He immediately took the road of Eira, and was received with pleaſing aſtoniſhment among his tranſported companions. CHAP. IV.

He ſurpriſes the Corinthian camp.

The news of his wonderful eſcape were ſoon conveyed to Sparta by ſome Meſſenian deſerters, whoſe information on ſuch a ſubject was not more credited, than if they had brought intelligence of one riſen from the dead. But, in the ſpace of a few days, the exploits of Ariſtomenes convinced the incredulity of the Spartans. He was informed by his ſcouts, that the Corinthians had ſent a powerful reinforcement to the beſiegers; that theſe troops were ſtill on their march, obſerving no order or diſcipline in the day, and encamping during night without guards or centinels. A general leſs active and leſs enterpriſing, would not have neglected ſo favorable an occaſion of annoying the enemy. But Ariſtomenes alone was capable of effecting this purpoſe by the means which were now employed. That no appearance of danger might alarm the negligence of the Corinthians, he ſet out unattended [1], waited their approach in concealment, attacked their camp in the dead of night, marked his route with blood, and returning loaded

[1] The exploits of Ariſtomenes often oblige us to remember the expreſſion in Pauſanias, p. 244: Αριστομενην δε εργα θειας αποδειξασθαι πλεον τι η ανδρα ενα εικος ην. "That he did more than ſeemed poſſible for any one man."

CHAP. IV.

with ſpoils to Eira, offered to Meſſenian Jove the *Hecatomphonia*; a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, which *he* alone was entitled to perform, who with his own hand had killed an hundred of his enemies. This was the third time the Meſſenian hero had celebrated the ſame tremendous rite.

The Lacedæmonians treacherouſly admitted into Eira.

Eleven years had the vigorous and perſevering efforts of a ſingle man prolonged the deſtiny of Eira. Ariſtomenes might have ſtill withſtood the impetuous ardor of the Spartans, but he could not withſtand the unerring oracles of Apollo, which predicted the fall of the devoted city. The purpoſe of the gods, however, was accompliſhed, not by open force, but by the ſecret treachery of a Lacedæmonian adulterer. This Lacedæmonian was the ſlave of Emperamus, a Spartan, who in the field yielded the poſt of honor only to the kings. The perfidious ſlave had eſcaped to the enemy with his maſter's property, and had formed an intrigue with a Meſſenian woman, whom he viſited as often as her huſband was called in his turn to guard the citadel. Amidſt the miſerable joys of their infamous commerce the lovers were one night diſturbed by the huſband, who loudly claimed admittance, which however he did not obtain till his wife had concealed the adulterer. When the wife, with the moſt inſidious flattery, inquiring by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with her huſband's unexpected return, the ſimple Meſſenian related, that the inclemency of the weather had driven the ſoldiers from their poſts, the wind and thunder and rain being ſo violent that

it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to continue any longer uncovered on the high grounds; nor could their deſertion be attended with any bad conſequences either to themſelves or to their country, as Ariſtomenes was prevented by a recent wound from walking the rounds as uſual, and as it could not be expected that the Spartans ſhould venture an attack againſt the citadel during the obſcurity and horror of a tempeſt. The Lacedæmonian ſlave overheard this recital, and thus obtained a piece of intelligence, which he well knew might not only atone for his paſt crimes, but entitle him to gratitude from his ancient maſter. He cautiouſly eſcapel from his concealment, and fought with the utmoſt celerity the Spartan camp. Neither of the kings being then preſent, the command belonged to Emperamus, who readily pardoned the fortunate treachery of a ſervant that had afforded him the means of obtaining the higheſt object of his ambition. Notwithſtanding the ſlipperineſs of the ſteep aſcent, the Spartans, by the direction of the ſlave, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained poſſeſſion of all the principal poſts, before the Meſſenians became ſenſible of their danger.

Obſtinate defence of that place.

As ſoon as it was known that the enemy had entered into the city, Ariſtomenes, accompanied by the warlike prophet Theocles, together with their reſpective ſons Gorgus and Manticles, endeavoured to animate the deſpair of their fellow-citizens, and to make them defend to the laſt extremity, the little ſpot of ground to which they could yet apply the endearing name of country.

CHAP. IV. Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

Such however were the terrors and confuſion of the night (the darkneſs, thunder, and tempeſt, being rendered ſtill more dreadful by the preſence of an armed enemy), that it was impoſſible to form the Meſſenians into ſuch an order of battle as might enable them to act with concert or effect. When the morning appeared they ſaw the danger more diſtinctly than before, and the impoſſibility of any other aſſiſtance than what may be derived from deſpair. They determined, at every hazard, to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themſelves with tiles, with ſtones, with every weapon that preſented itſelf to their fury. They lamented that the violence of the wind prevented them from mounting to the roofs of the houſes, which they had purpoſed to throw down on the enemy; and declared that they would rather be buried under the ruins of their country, than dragged in captivity to Sparta. Such generous reſolutions ought to have retarded the fate of Meſſené; but it was impoſſible to fight againſt ſuperior numbers, aided by the elements and by the manifeſt partiality of the gods; for the thunder happening on the right of the Spartans, afforded them an auſpicious omen of future victory, and preſented to the Meſſenians the ſad proſpect of impending calamities.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo favorable to the Spartans, were improved by the prudence of Hecatus the diviner, who adviſed that the ſoldiers who compoſed the laſt ranks, as they could not be brought up to the attack, ſhould be remanded to

the camp; and after refreshing themselves with sleep and nourishment, recalled to the assistance of their countrymen. Thus, without depriving themselves of present strength, the Spartans provided for a future supply of fresh troops; while the Messenians, engaged in continual action with the assailants, were obliged at the same time to combat cold, sleep, fatigue, and hunger. For three days and nights they withstood the combined force of these finally irresistible enemies; and when at length they began to give way, the diviner Theocles threw himself into the midst of the Spartans, crying out, "that they were not always to be victorious, "nor the Messenians always to be their slaves. "Such was the will of the gods! who commanded "him to perish in the wreck of a country, which, "in a future age, was destined to rise from its "ruins."

CHAP. IV.

Aristomenes conducts a remnant of the Messenians towards Arcadia.

It might have been expected that the patriotism of Aristomenes would have chosen the same honorable occasion of expiring with the freedom of his republic. But the general preferred life for the sake of defending the small remnant of a community, which, he flattered himself, would be immortal, not only from the prediction of Theocles, but from another circumstance equally important. When the downfal of Eira was foretold by the oracle of Apollo, the prudent chief had removed to a place of security some sacred pledges believed to contain the fate of Messené. These mysterious securities consisted of thin plates of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which was

CHAP. IV.

engraved an account of the hiſtory and worſhip of the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine. Having concealed in mount Ithome this invaluable monument, which had been delivered down in veneration from the remoteſt antiquity, Ariſtomenes determined never to deſpair of the fortune, or to forſake the intereſts of his country. Although he perceived, therefore, that it was now become neceſſary to relinquiſh Eira, he did not, on this account, abandon the ſafety of its remaining citizens. In order to preſerve them, the only expedient that could be employed, with any hopes of ſucceſs, was the founding a retreat, and the collecting into one body ſuch of his ſoldiers as were not already too far engaged with the Spartans. Having accompliſhed this meaſure, he placed the women and children in the centre of the battalion, and committed the command of the rear to Gorgus and Mandicles. He himſelf conducted the van, and marching towards the enemy with his ſpear equally poiſed, and with well-regulated valor, ſhowed, by his mien and countenance, that he was reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity the little remnant of the Meſſenian ſtate. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatus the diviner, opened their ranks, and allowed them to paſs unhurt, judiciouſly avoiding to irritate their deſpair. The Meſſenians abandoned their city, and in mournful ſilence marched towards Arcadia.

Their kind reception in that country.

As the wars of the Grecian republics were more bloody and deſtructive than thoſe of modern times, ſo were their alliances more generous and ſincere.

CHAP. IV.

When the Arcadians were informed of the taking of Eira, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontiers of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals, clothing, and all things neceſſary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives; whom having met at mount Lycæa, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and to give them their daughters in marriage.[31].

Ariſtomenes purpoſes to ſurpriſe Sparta.

The generous ſympathy of the Arcadians animated Ariſtomenes to an exploit, the boldneſs of which little correſponded with the depreſſion incident to his preſent fortune. He had only five hundred ſoldiers whoſe activity and ſtrength were ſtill equal to their valor; and theſe he commanded, in the preſence of his allies, to march ſtraightway to Sparta. Three hundred Arcadians deſired to ſhare the glory of this ſpirited enterpriſe; and it was hoped, that as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were employed in plundering Eira, this ſmall but valiant body of men might make a deep impreſſion on a city deprived of its uſual defence.

Treachery and puniſhment of Ariſtocrates.

The arrangements for this purpoſe were taken with the Arcadian king Ariſtocrates, whoſe behaviour at the battle of the Trenches had occaſioned the defeat of the Meſſenians, and whoſe artifice had ſince perſuaded them, that his ſhameful behaviour on that day was the effect of panic terror, not of perfidious intention. A ſecond time the treacherous Arcadian betrayed the cauſe of his country and its allies. Having retarded the execution of

[31] Polyb. l. iv.

CHAP. IV. Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

Ariſtomenes's project, on pretence that the appearance of the entrails was unfavorable, he diſpatched a confidential ſlave to Sparta, who diſcovered the imminent danger threatening that republic to Anaxander the Lacedæmonian king. The ſlave was intercepted on his return, carrying a letter from that prince, in which he acknowledged the faithful ſervices of his ancient benefactor. Upon the diſcovery of this letter, which totally diſconcerted the intended enterpriſe againſt Sparta, the Arcadians, frantic with diſappointment and rage, ſtoned to death the perfidious traitor who diſgraced the name of king. The Meſſenians joined not in the execution of this ſubſtantial act of juſtice. Watching the countenance of Ariſtomenes, whoſe authority was equally powerful in the council and in the field, they obſerved, that inſtead of being agitated by reſentment, it was ſoftened by grief. The hero was affected with the deepeſt melancholy, on reflecting that the only deſign was now rendered abortive, by which he could ſoon hope to avenge the wrongs of his country. Both nations teſtified the moſt ſignal deteſtation of the character of Ariſtocrates. The Arcadians extinguiſhed his name, and extirpated his whole race. The Meſſenians erected a column near the temple of Lycæan Apollo (ſo named from mount Lycæa, on the confines of Arcadia), with an inſcription, ſetting forth his crime and puniſhment; aſſerting the impoſſibility of concealing treacherous baſeneſs from the inveſtigation of Time, and the penetrating

mind of Jove; and praying the god to defend and bleſs the land of Arcadia [32].

CHAP. IV.

Thus ended the ſecond Meſſenian war, in the autumn of the year ſix hundred and ſeventy-one before Chriſt. The fugitive Meſſenians experienced various fortunes. The aged and infirm were treated by the Arcadians, among whom they continued to reſide, with all the cordial attention of ancient hoſpitality. The young and enterpriſing took leave of their benefactors, and under the conduct of Ariſtomenes repaired to Cyllene, an harbour belonging to the Eleans. Agreeably to the information which they had received, they found in that place their countrymen of Pylus and Methone, with whom they conſulted about the means of acquiring new eſtabliſhments. It was determined, by the advice of their Elean friends, not to undertake any expedition for this purpoſe until the return of ſpring, when they ſhould again convene in full aſſembly, finally to conclude this important deliberation. Having met at the time appointed, they agreed unanimouſly to commit their future fortunes to the wiſdom and paternal care of Ariſtomenes, who declared his opinion for eſtabliſhing a diſtant colony, but declined the honor of conducting it in perſon, and named for this office the brave Meſſenian youths Gorgus and Manticles. The former of theſe inheriting his father's hatred againſt Sparta, adviſed his countrymen

Future fortune of the Meſſenians.

Olymp. xxvii. 3. A. C. 670.

[32] The inſcription is preſerved by Polybius, l. iv. and by Pauſanias, Meſſen.

CHAP. IV. to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Zacynthus, which, from its ſituation in the Ionian Sea, lay conveniently for haraſſing the maritime parts of Laconia. Manticles propoſed a different opinion, obſerving that the iſland of Sardinia, though leſs advantageouſly ſituated for the purpoſes of revenge, was far better adapted to ſupply the neceſſary comforts of life; and that the Meſſenians, if once ſettled in that large and beautiful iſland, would ſoon forget the calamities which Sparta had inflicted on them. It is uncertain whether motives of vengeance or utility would have prevailed with the Meſſenians; for before any reſolution was taken on this important ſubject, a meſſenger arrived from Rhegium, then governed by Anaxilas, a prince deſcended from the royal houſe of Meſſenia, who invited his wandering countrymen to a ſafe and honorable retreat in his dominions. When, agreeably to this invitation, they arrived at Rhegium, Anaxilas informed them, that his ſubjects were continually haraſſed by the piratical depredations of the Zancleans, an Eolian colony[11], who poſſeſſed a delightful territory on the oppoſite coaſt. With the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians it would be eaſy (he obſerved) to deſtroy that neſt of pirates; a meaſure by which the city of Rhegium would be delivered from very troubleſome neighbours, and the Meſſenians enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves in the moſt delicious ſituation of the whole Sicilian coaſt. The propoſal was received

[11] Thucydid. l. vi.

with alacrity; the armament ſailed for Sicily; the Zancleans were beſieged by ſea and land. When they perceived that part of their wall was deſtroyed, and that they could derive no advantage from continuing in arms, they took refuge in the temples of their gods. Even from theſe reſpected aſylums the reſentment of Anaxilas was ready to tear them; but he was reſtrained by the humanity of the Meſſenians, who had learned from their own calamities to pity the unfortunate. The Zancleans thus delivered from the ſword and from ſervitude, the ordinary conſequences of unſucceſsful war, ſwore eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The Meſſenians returned this friendly ſentiment with an increaſe of bounty; they allowed the Zancleans either to leave the place, or to remain in the honorable condition of citizens; the two nations gradually coaleſced into one community; and Zanclé, in memory of the conqueſt, changed its name to Meſſene [14], a name which may ſtill be recognized after the revolution of twenty-five centuries. CHAP. IV.

[14] Such is the account of Pauſanias, or rather of the ancient authors whom he follows. But it muſt not be diſſembled, that Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 23. Thucydides, p. 114. and Diodorus, lib. xi. place Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, much later than the ſecond Meſſenian war. It deſerves to be conſidered, that Pauſanias, writing expreſsly on the ſubject, is entitled to more credit than authors who only ſpeak of it incidentally. But when we reflect that theſe authors are Herodotus and Thucydides, there ſeems no way of ſolving the difficulty, but by ſuppoſing two princes of the name of Anaxilas, to the latter of whom his countrymen, by a ſpecies of flattery not uncommon in Greece, aſcribed the tranſactions of the firſt.

CHAP. IV. and of Ariſtomenes.

It has been already obſerved, that Ariſtomenes declined the honor of conducting the colony. His ſubſequent fortune is differently related by ancient writers [55]. Pauſanias, to whom we are indebted for the fulleſt account of the Meſſenian hero, informs us, that he ſailed to the iſle of Rhodes with Demagetes, the king of the city and territory of Ialyſus in that iſland, who being adviſed by the oracle of Apollo to marry the daughter of the moſt illuſtrious character in Greece, had without heſitation preferred the daughter of Ariſtomenes. From Rhodes he ſailed to Ionia, and thence travelled to Sardis, with an intention of being preſented to Ardys king of the Lydians, probably to propoſe ſome enterpriſe to the ambition of that prince, which might finally be productive of benefit to Meſſené. But upon his arrival at Sardis he was ſeized with a diſtemper which put an end to his life. Other generals have defended their country with better ſucceſs, but none with greater glory; other characters are more fully delineated in ancient hiſtory, but none more deſerving of immortal fame; ſince whatever is known of Ariſtomenes tends to prove, that according to the ideas of his age and country, he united, in ſingular perfection, the merits of the citizen and of the ſoldier, the powers of the underſtanding and the virtues of the heart.

His death and character.

[55] Conſer. Pauſan. Meſſen. et Plin. l. xi. cap. 70. Val. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 8.

CHAP. V.

State of the Peloponneſus after the Conqueſt of Meſſenia. — Of the Northern Republics of Greece. — Of the Grecian Colonies. — Revolutions in Government. — Military Tranſactions. — The firſt ſacred War. — Deſtruction of the Criſſean Republic. — Reſtoration of the Pythian Games. — Deſcription of the Gymnaſtic and Equeſtrian Exerciſes. — Hiſtory of Grecian Muſic.

CHAP. V. State of Greece after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, and firſt of the Peloponneſus. Olymp. xxviii. 1. A. C. 668.

THE conqueſt of Meſſenia rendered Sparta the moſt conſiderable power in Greece. The Peloponneſus, formerly comprehending ſeven, now contained only ſix independent ſtates. The ſubjects of Sparta alone occupied two fifths of the whole peninſula. The remainder was unequally divided among the Corinthians, Achæans, Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. In a narrow extent of territory, theſe ſmall communities exhibited a wonderful variety of character and manners. The central diſtrict of Arcadia, conſiſting of one continued cluſter of mountains, was inhabited by a hardy race of herdſmen, proud of their anceſtry, and confident in their own courage and the ſtrength of their country. Their Eolian extraction, their jealouſy, and their pride, made them diſdain connexion with the Dorians, by whoſe poſſeſſions they were on all ſides ſurrounded. Careleſs of the arts of peace, they were engaged in unceaſing hoſtilities

CHAP. V.

with their neighbours, by whom they were deſpiſed as barbarians, and whom they contemned as upſtarts; ſince, amidſt all the revolutions of Peloponneſus, the Arcadians alone had ever maintained their original eſtabliſhments [1].

Contraſt between the Arcadians and Corinthians.

The induſtrious and wealthy Corinthians preſented a very different ſpectacle. Inhabiting the mountainous iſthmus, which, towering between two ſeas, connects the Peloponneſus with the north of Greece, the Corinthians long formed the principal centre of inland communication and foreign commerce [2]. Towards the ſouthern extremity of the iſthmus, and at the foot of their impregnable fortreſs Acro-Corinthus, they had built a fair and ſpacious city, extending its branches, on either ſide, to the Saronic and Corinthian gulphs, whoſe oppoſite waves vainly aſſailed their narrow but lofty territory [3]. Their harbours and their commerce gave them colonies and a naval power. They are ſaid to have improved the very inconvenient ſhips, or rather long-boats, uſed in early times, into the more capacious form of Triremes [4].

[1] Pauſan. Arcad. Strabo, l. viii. p. 388.

[2] Pauſan. Corinth. c. iv.

[3] Strabo, l. viii. p. 379.

[4] The Triremes, Quadriremes, Quinqueremes of the ancients, were ſo denominated from the number of the ranks, or tires, of oars, on each ſide the veſſel; which number conſtituted what we may call the rate of the ancient ſhips of war. It was long a deſideratum in the ſcience of antiquities to determine the manner of arranging theſe ranks of oars, as well as to aſcertain the poſition of the rowers. The bulk of commentators and antiquaries placed the ſedilia, or ſeats, in rows immediately above each other, upon the ſides of the veſſel, which they ſuppoſed perpendicular to the ſurface of the gallies.

gallies[s]. Their ſea fight againſt their rebellious colony, Corcyra, is the firſt naval engagement recorded in hiſtory[t]. It was fought ſix hundred

CHAP. V. Political revolutions in Corinth. A. C. 779 —till 585.

[s] Thucydid. l. i. c. xiii. [t] Ibid.

water. But the leaſt knowledge of naval architecture deſtroys that ſuppoſition. The rowers, thus placed, muſt have obſtructed each other; they muſt have occupied too large a ſpace, and rowed with too unfavorable an angle on the ſhip's ſide; above all, the length and weight of the oars required for the upper tires, muſt have rendered the working of them totally impracticable, eſpecially as we know from ancient writers, that there was but one man to each oar. Theſe inconveniences were pointed out by many; but the ingenuity of lieutenant-general Melvill explained how to remedy them. He conjectured that the waſte part of the ancient gallies, at the diſtance of a few feet above the water's edge, roſe obliquely, with an angle of 45°, or near it; that upon the inner ſides of this waſte part, the ſeats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more ſpace between each ſeat, and thoſe on all ſides of it, than ſhould be found neceſſary for the free movements of men when rowing together. The quincunx, or chequer order, would afford this advantage in the higheſt degree poſſible; and, in conſequence of the combination of two obliquities, the inconveniences above-mentioned totally diſappear. In 1772 the general cauſed the fifth part of the waiſt of a Quinquéremis to be erected in the back-yard of his houſe in Great Pulteney ſtreet. This model contained, with ſufficient eaſe, in a very ſmall ſpace, thirty rowers, in five tires of ſix men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth part of the rowers on each ſide of a Quinquéremis, according to Polybius, who aſſigns three hundred for the whole complement, beſides one hundred and twenty fighting men. This conſtruction, the advantages of which appeared evident to thoſe who examined it, ſerves to explain many difficult paſſages of the Greek and Roman writers concerning naval matters. The general's diſcovery is confirmed by ancient monuments. On ſeveral pieces of ſculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war-gallies, or parts of them, with the oars repreſented as coming down from oar holes diſpoſed chequerwiſe. In the Capo di Monte palace at Naples, the reverſe of a large Medaglione of Gordianus has the figure of a Triremis, with three tires, each of fourteen or fifteen oars, iſſuing chequerwiſe from an oblique ſide. The collection at Portici con-

CHAP. V.

and fifty years before Chriſt, at which time the Corinthians (as the ideas of wealth and luxury are relative) were already regarded by their neighbours as a wealthy and luxurious people. The influence of wealth to produce ſervitude prevailed over that of commerce, which is favorable to liberty. Their government, after the abolition of monarchy, was uſurped by a numerous branch of the royal family, ſtyled Bacchiadæ [7]. This oligarchy was deſtroyed by Cypſelus, a mild and gentle ruler [8], whoſe family governed Corinth till the year five hundred and eighty-five before Chriſt.

Contraſt between the Argives and Achæans.

The contraſt between Arcadia and Corinth was not more ſtriking than that between Argolis and Achaia. The citizens of Argos, having expelled their kings, were ſeized with an ambition to reduce and domineer over the inferior towns in the province. The inſolence of the capital provoked the indignation of the country. Mycenæ, Træzene, Epidaurus, and other places of leſs note, were often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Intereſt taught them to unite; and union enabled them ſo ſet at defiance the power of

tains ancient paintings of ſeveral gallies, one or two of which, by preſenting the ſtern part, ſhow both the obliquity of the ſides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water. — The ſubſtance of this note is already published in governor Pownall's Antiquities. The governor, however, ſpeaks of a gallery for the rowers, which I did not obſerve in the general's model; nor do I apprehend that ſuch a gallery could be neceſſary, as the purpoſe for which it is ſuppoſed to have been intended, is completely anſwered by the waſte part of the veſſel.

[7] Pauſan. Corinth. [8] Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

CHAP. V.

Argos, by which they were branded as rebellious, and which they reproached as tyrannical [9]. The fortunate district of Achaia, having successfully resisted the oppression of Ogygus, an unworthy descendant of Agamemnon, established, at a very early period, a democratical form of policy [10]. Twelve cities, each of which retained its municipal jurisdiction, united on a foot of perfect equality and freedom. This equitable confederacy prepared the way for the Achæan laws, so celebrated in later times, when the cause of Greece, shamefully abandoned by more powerful guardians, was defended by the feeble communities of Achaia [11].

Between the Lacedæmonians and Elians.

We have already had occasion to explain the important institutions of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The very opposite systems adopted by these great legislators, respectively suited the weakness of Elis and the strength of Sparta, and occasioned a remarkable contrast between the peaceful tranquillity of the former republic [12] and the warlike ambition of the latter, the lines of whose national character grew more bold and decisive after the Messenian conquest. The piteous remnant of the Messenians, who had defended their freedom with the most persevering bravery, was reduced to a cruel and ignominious servitude. Confounded with the miserable mass of Helots, those wretched

[9] Pausan. l. vi. c. xxi. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 273.

[10] Pausan. Achaic. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383, et seq.

[11] Polyb. l. ii. [12] Pausan. Eliac. et Strabo, l. viii.

CHAP. V.

victims of Spartan cruelty, they were condemned to laborious drudgery, expoſed to daily inſult, and compelled, ſtill more intolerable! to tend their own flocks, and cultivate their own fields, for the benefit of unrelenting tyrants [33]. The haughty temper of the Spartans became continually more preſumptuous. They totally diſdained ſuch arts and employments as they uſually ſaw practiſed by the induſtry of ſlaves. War, and hunting as the image of war, were the only occupations which it ſuited their dignity to purſue; and this conſtant exerciſe in arms, directed by the military code of Lycurgus, rendered them ſuperior in the field of battle, not only to the neighbouring ſtates of Peloponneſus, but to the braveſt and moſt renowned republics beyond the Corinthian iſthmus.

State of the northern republics of Greece.

While the Grecian peninſula was agitated by the ſtubborn conflict between the Spartans and Meſſenians, the northern ſtates had been diſturbed by petty wars, and torn by domeſtic diſcord [34]. The Greek ſettlements in Thrace, in Africa, and Magna Græcia, were yet too feeble to attract the regard of hiſtory. But, during the period now under review, the Aſiatic colonies, as ſhall be explained in a ſubſequent chapter, far ſurpaſſed their European brethren in ſplendor and proſperity.

Of the Grecian colonies.

Political revolutions in Athens.

Having aboliſhed the regal office, the Athenians, whoſe political revolutions were followed with remarkable uniformity by neighbouring ſtates,

[33] Pauſanias, Meſſeniac. [34] Thucydid. l. i.

CHAP. V.

ſubmitted the chief adminiſtration of their affairs to a magiſtrate entitled Archon, or ruler. The authority of the Archon long continued hereditary: it became afterwards decennial: at length nine annual Archons were appointed by the powerful claſs of nobility, conſiſting not only of the deſcendants of ſuch foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of thoſe Athenian families which time and accident had raiſed to opulence and diſtinction. The great body of the people gained nothing by theſe revolutions. The equeſtrian order, ſo called from their fighting on horſeback, which before the improvement of tactics rendered them ſuperior in every rencounter with the diſorderly rabble, enjoyed all authority, religious, civil, and military [15]. The Athenian populace were reduced to a condition of miſerable ſervitude; nor did they recover their ancient and hereditary freedom until the admired inſtitutions of Theſeus were reſtored and improved by Solon, towards the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt.

A. C. 754.
A. C. 684.
A. C. 594.

The domeſtic diſſenſions which prevailed in every ſtate beyond the iſthmus, were only interrupted by foreign hoſtilities. Interference of intereſt occaſioned innumerable conteſts between the Phocians and Thebans, the Dorians and Theſſalians, the Locrians and Ætolians. Theſe various inroads, battles, and ſieges, which were begun with paſſion, carried on without prudence, and

Unimportance of the military tranſactions preceding the firſt Sacred War. Olymp. xlvi. A. C. 600.

[15] Ariſtot. Politic. l. iv. c. xiii.

CHAP. V.

concluded without producing any permanent effect, have been conſigned by ancient hiſtorians to a juſt oblivion. But the firſt Sacred War is recommended to our attention, both on account of the cauſe from which it aroſe, and the conſequences with which it was attended. This memorable enterpriſe was occaſioned by an injury committed againſt the oracle of Delphi; it was undertaken by order of the Amphictyons; it ended in the total deſtruction of the cities accuſed of ſacrilegious outrage; and its ſucceſsful concluſion was celebrated by the Pythian games and feſtival, which, of all Grecian inſtitutions, had the moſt direct as well as moſt powerful tendence to refine rudeneſs and ſoften barbarity.

Deſcription of the republic of Criſſa.

The territory of the Criſſeans, lying to the ſouth of Delphi, comprehended, in an extent of about twenty-four miles in length and fifteen in breadth, three large and flouriſhing cities; Criſſa, the capital, which gave name to the province; Cirrha, advantageouſly ſituated for commerce on the weſtern ſide of a creek of the Corinthian Gulph; and Anticirrha, on the eaſtern ſide of the ſame creek, celebrated for the production of hellebore, as well as for the ſkill with which the natives prepared that medicinal plant, the virtues of which were ſo much extolled and exaggerated by credulous antiquity [16].

Its proſperity and inſolence.

The Criſſeans poſſeſſed all the means of happineſs, but knew not how to enjoy them. Their

[16] Strabo and Pliny.

territory, though ſmall, was fertile; and as its value was enhanced by the comparative ſterility of the greateſt part of Phocis [17], it acquired and deſerved the epithet of *Happy*. Their harbour was frequented by the veſſels, not only of Greece, but of Italy and Sicily; they carried on an extenſive foreign commerce, conſidering the limited communication between diſtant countries in that early age; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, at which it was impoſſible to arrive without paſſing through their dominions, brought them conſiderable acceſſions of wealth [18], as well as of dignity and reſpect. But theſe advantages, inſtead of ſatisfying, increaſed the natural avidity of the Criſſeans. They began to exact vexatious and exorbitant duties from the merchants who came to expoſe their wares in the ſacred city, which, on account of the great concourſe of profligate pilgrims from every quarter, ſoon became the ſeat, not of devotion only, but of diſſipation, vanity, and licentious pleaſure. It was in vain for the merchants to exclaim againſt theſe unexampled impoſitions; the taxes were continually increaſed; the evil admitted not the expectation of either remedy or relief; and the ſtrangers, accuſtomed to it by long habit, began to ſubmit without murmur; and perhaps endured the hardſhip with the greater patience, when they perceived that they drew back the tax in the increaſed price of their commodities. Encouraged by this acquieſcence in their tyranny, the Criſſeans levied a

CHAP. V.

Exacts contributions from the merchants and ſtrangers who reſorted to the oracle of Delphi.

[17] Strabo, p. 323, et ſeq.

[18] Pauſan. in Phocic.

CHAP. V. severe impoſt on the pilgrims, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who viſited the temple of Apollo; a meaſure directly inconſiſtent with a decree of the Amphictyons, which declared that all men ſhould have free acceſs to the oracle [19], as well as extremely hurtful to the intereſt of the Delphians, who ſoon felt a gradual diminution of their profits ariſing from the holy ſhrine. It was natural for thoſe who ſuſtained a loſs, either of gain or of authority, to remonſtrate againſt the extortions of the Criſſeans; but their remonſtrances, inſtead of producing any happy alteration of behaviour, only exaſperated men grown inſolent through proſperity. In the time of profound peace, the Criſſeans, provoked by uſeful admonitions, which they proudly called threats, entered with an armed force the territories of their neighbours; deſtroyed every thing that oppoſed them, with fire and ſword; laid the defenceleſs cities under heavy contributions, and carried many of the inhabitants into ſervitude [20]. Delphi itſelf, however much it was revered in Greece, and reſpected even by the moſt diſtant nations, appeared to the ſacrilegious invaders an object better fitted to gratify the deſire of plunder, than to excite the emotions of piety. Neighbourhood had rendered them familiar with the woods, the temples, and the grottoes of the preſiding divinity; with the manners and character of many of his miniſters they were probably too well acquainted to hold them in much reverence;

[19] Strabo, l. ix. p. 418. [20] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

and having deſerved their reſentment by what they had already done, they reſolved to render it impotent by what they ſhould next accompliſh.

CHAP. V.

The deſign of plundering Delphi was no ſooner formed than executed. The imaginations of men were not prepared for ſuch an event; nor had any meaſures been taken to prevent ſuch an unexpected and abominable profanation. The enemy meeting with no reſiſtance, became maſters of the temple, and ſeized the rich votive offerings accumulated by the pious generoſity of ages. Thence they paſſed into the ſacred wood, and rendered furious through pride or guilt, attacked, plundered, and murdered the promiſcuous crowd, who were employed in the uſual exerciſe of their devotions. The young were violated with a licentious rage which bid defiance to decency and nature. Even a deputation of the Amphictyons, clothed in the venerable garb and bearing the reſpected enſigns of their office, were repelled with blows and inſults, while they vainly attempted to ſtop the fatal progreſs of theſe frantic and impious outrages, committed againſt every thing held ſacred among men [21].

The Criſſeans plunder the ſhrine of Delphi.

The Amphictyonic council, to whom it belonged to judge and to puniſh the atrocious enormities of the Criſſeans, experienced, in an uncommon degree, thoſe inconveniences to which all numerous aſſemblies are in ſome meaſure liable. Their proceedings were retarded by formality, warped by

Meaſures of the Amphictyonic council.

[21] Pauſan. in Phocic.

CHAP. V.

prejudice, and disturbed by dissension. Notwithstanding the aggravated crimes of the Crisseans, it was not without encountering many difficulties and much opposition, that Solon, one of the Athenian representatives, roused his associates to the resolution of avenging the offended majesty of religion, the violated laws of nature, and their own personal injuries. When at length they agreed to this useful and pious design, the measures pursued on the present occasion, as well as in all the future wars undertaken by their authority, were equally slow and indecisive. The forces which they at first brought into the field were by no means equal to the enterprise for which they were designed. After various reinforcements, they attempted ineffectually, during nine summers and winters, to reduce the towns of Crissa and Cirrha, which finally submitted, in the tenth year of the war, rather to the art than to the power of the besiegers.

The principal events in the Sacred War.

The events of the preceding years strongly paint the ignorance, the superstition, and the rude manners of the times. The Crisseans had no sooner plundered, than they abandoned the temple of Apollo. Thither, by the advice of Solon, the Amphictyons sent messengers, to consult the oracle concerning the proper means as well as the just measure of their vengeance. They were commanded instantly to levy war on the Crisseans; to persecute them to the last extremity; to demolish their towns, to desolate their country, and after consecrating it to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and

CHAP. V.

Minerva, to prevent it from ever thenceforth being cultivated for the ſervice of man [22]. In obedience to this peremptory injunction of the god, the Amphictyons returned to their ſeveral republics, in order to collect troops, and to animate the exertions of their countrymen in the common cauſe. The Greeks however were too deeply engaged in domeſtic diſſenſions, to make effectual efforts for the glory of Apollo. Few adventurers repaired to the holy ſtandard; and the war, neither ſupported by vigor of execution nor directed by wiſdom of deliberation, languiſhed for ſeveral years under different generals. At length Eurylochus, a Theſſalian prince of great valor and activity, was intruſted with the command of the Amphictyonic army [23]. The new general waited till the time of harveſt, to ravage the open country, to deſtroy the villages by fire and ſword, and to deſolate the *happy* Criſſean plain.

Siege of Criſſa.

On ſeveral occaſions he defeated the army of the Criſſeans, who made frequent and vigorous ſallies in order to defend their poſſeſſions. But when he attempted to make an impreſſion on the fortified ſtrength of Criſſa, its thick walls, its lofty towers, and above all, the activity and courage of its citizens, preſented obſtacles which it was impoſſible to ſurmount. The art of beſieging towns ſtill continued in a ſtate of great imperfection. The battering-rams, and other engines employed in this operation of war, were of too rude a conſtruction

[22] Æſchin. ibid.

[23] Plut. in Solon. Strabo, l. ix. Polyænus, l. vi. c. xv.

CHAP. V.

to make ſuch a breach in the walls as might not eaſily be repaired. It was in vain that Eurylochus attempted by blockade to reduce the place. The enemy were furniſhed with all neceſſaries in great abundance, from the well-frequented port of Cirrha. Years thus paſſed away, and nothing deciſive was effected. The beſiegers, fatigued with labor, and uneaſy at diſappointment, had often abandoned their camp, and cantoned themſelves on the borders of the Criſſean territory, where they expected more ſalutary ſupplies of proviſions.

Peſtilence in the army of the beſiegers,

When they again returned to their duty, they were afflicted, in the ninth year of the war, with a peſtilential or epidemic diſorder, occaſioned either by the want of wholeſome food, the great numbers of men cooped up during the warm ſeaſon within a narrow ſpace, or by ſome unknown malignity of the atmoſphere. A great part of the army fell a prey to the increaſing contagion. Anxious for the public ſafety the Amphictyons had recourſe to the wiſdom of Apollo, who, inſtead of recommending to them the aid of an able phyſician, exhorted them to bring from the iſle of Cos the *fawn with gold.* Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to that iſland, in order to unravel the meaning of the god, thus wrapped up in its cuſtomary veil of myſtic obſcurity. They had no ſooner explained their commiſſion in the Coan aſſembly, than an eminent citizen, named Nebros, riſing up, declared the ſenſe of the oracle. "I "am the fawn," ſaid he, "pointed out by Apollo,"

remedied by Nebros of Cos.

(for Nebros in Greek ſignifies a fawn), "and my "ſon Chryſos" (which is the Greek word for gold) "has carried off the prize of ſtrength, courage, "and beauty, from all his competitors." The perſon who thus ſpoke is juſtly celebrated, on account of his anceſtor Eſculapius, of his deſcendant Hippocrates [24], and of his own unrivalled proficiency in the healing art. The knowledge of phyſic was become the hereditary honor, and almoſt the appropriated poſſeſſion, of his family, by which it had been cultivated for many ages, and to which it is ſuppoſed in a great meaſure to owe its preſent improvement and perfection. Nebros obeyed with alacrity the injunction of Apollo, the peculiar patron of the ſcience in which he excelled. At his own expenſe he equipped a veſſel of fifty oars, loaded with valuable medicines as well as with warlike ſtores, and accompanied by his ſon Chryſos, ſet ſail with the Amphictyonic ambaſſadors, in order to cure the confederates, and to conquer the Criſſeans. CHAP. V.

Sack of Criſſa.

His advice, his prudence, and his aſſiduity, reſtored the decaying health of the army. Their numbers, however, were already ſo much diminiſhed, that it ſeemed impoſſible by open force to put a ſucceſsful end to the war. On this occaſion the artful Coan employed a ſtratagem, which would

[24] We owe, almoſt entirely, the hiſtory recorded in the text, to an oration of Theſſalus, ſon of Hippocrates, addreſſed to the Athenians. It is published among the letters of his father. Vid. Hippocrat. Opera, ex edit. Fæſii, v. ii. p. 1291. There are ſome learned diſſertations on the ſubject in the 5th and 7th volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

CHAP. V.

have appeared entirely inconſiſtent with the laws of arms which had long been eſtabliſhed in Greece, if it had not ſeemed to be the dictate of a divine admonition. The horſe of Eurylochus was obſerved for ſeveral days to roll on the ſand, and to ſtrike his foot with great violence againſt a particular ſpot of ground. In digging under this ground, a wooden pipe was diſcovered, which ſupplied Criſſa with water. The extraordinary means by which this diſcovery was made, convinced the ignorant credulity of the Greeks, that ſome important advantage might be derived from it; and upon mature deliberation it was concluded, that Apollo had thus ſuggeſted a contrivance for deſtroying his own and their enemies. Complying therefore with the heavenly intimation, Nebros poiſoned the conduit of water; and the effect of this deteſtable artifice was ſoon diſcernible in the languid efforts and diminiſhed reſiſtance of the beſieged. The beſiegers, on the other hand, encouraged by the evident partiality of the gods, carried on their operations with redoubled vigor. A reward was propoſed for the man who ſhould firſt mount the walls, an honor obtained by the youthful ardor of Chryſos. The city was thus taken by aſſault; the fortifications were demoliſhed, the houſes burnt, and the inhabitants treated with a ſeverity proportioned to the atrocious enormity of their own crimes, and the exaſperated reſentment of the victors.

Conſecration of the Cirrhean plain

The command of Apollo, however, was not completely executed by the deſtruction of the

Criſſean capital. Part of that impious community ſtill ſubſiſted in the maritime town of Cirrha, the reduction of which muſt have preſented great difficulties to the Amphictyons, ſince it was neceſſary for them a third time to have recourſe to the oracle. The anſwer delivered on this occaſion was involved in twofold obſcurity. The words of the god, at all times dark and doubtful, now ſeemed abſolutely unintelligible, ſince he made the taking of Cirrha, an event which there was every reaſon to expect, depend on a circumſtance that appeared at firſt ſight impoſſible. "You ſhall not "overturn," ſaid he, "the lofty towers of Cir"rha, until the foaming billows of blue-eyed Am"phitrité beat againſt the reſounding ſhores of "the Holy Land." How could the ſea be conveyed for ſeveral leagues over rocks and mountains, ſo that its waves might daſh againſt the craggy precipices which ſurround the ſacred groves of Delphi? This was an enigma which the oldeſt and moſt experienced members of the Amphictyonic council acknowledged themſelves unable to explain. The condition on which ſucceſs was promiſed them ſeemed incapable of being fulfilled; the inhabitants of Cirrha flattered themſelves with hopes of unalterable ſecurity; and the wiſeſt of the Amphictyons gave their opinion, that there was good reaſon to abandon an enterpriſe which ſeemed diſagreeable to Apollo, by whoſe advice the war had been originally undertaken.

CHAP. V.

While theſe ſentiments univerſally prevailed in both armies, Solon, the Athenian, alone ventured

advised by Solon.

CHAP. V.

to propoſe an advice more advantageous for the confederates, as well as more honorable for the holy ſhrine. His ſuperior wiſdom taught him the impiety of ſuppoſing that the god ſhould require an impoſſibility, as the condition of happily terminating a war, the firſt meaſures of which he had himſelf ſuggeſted and approved. It exceeded, indeed, human power to extend the ſea to the boundary of the Holy Land; but by removing this boundary, it was poſſible to make the Holy Land communicate with the ſea. This might eaſily be accompliſhed, ſince it ſufficed for that purpoſe to conſecrate the intermediate ſpace with the ſame ceremonies which had been formerly employed in dedicating the Delphian territory [21].

and put in execution.

The opinion of Solon, propoſed with much ſolemn gravity, was honored with the unanimous approbation of his aſſociates. Every one now wondered that he himſelf ſhould not have thought of an expedient which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo obvious. The preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution; and the property of the Cirrhean plain was ſurrendered to the god with the moſt pompous formality; the Amphictyons, either not conſidering that they beſtowed on Apollo, what, as it was not their own, they had not a right to give away; or, if this idea occurred, eaſily perſuaded themſelves that the piety of the application would atone for the defect of the title.

[21] Plutarch. in Solon. Pauſan. in. Phoc.

when

CHAP. V.

When the ſenators had performed the conſecration, the ſoldiers aſſailed the walls of Cirrha with the increaſing activity of re-animated hope. That place, as well as the dependent town of Anticirrha, ſituate on the oppoſite ſide of the creek, ſoon ſubmitted to their arms. The impious and devoted citizens were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. The Criſſean community, formerly ſo rich and flouriſhing, was for ever extirpated [26]. Their lands were laid waſte, their cities demoliſhed, the proud monuments of their victories levelled with the ground; and the port of Cirrha, which was allowed to remain as a convenient harbour for Delphi, ſubſiſted as the only veſtige of their ancient grandeur. The territory, as it had been condemned by the divine will to perpetual ſterility, long continued unculſtivated; for the Delphians were not obliged to labor the ground in order to acquire the neceſſaries, the accommodations, and even the higheſt luxuries of life. The ſuperſtition of the age furniſhed an abundant reſource to ſupply their wants; the granaries of Apollo filled ſpontaneouſly; and, to uſe the figurative ſtyle of an ancient author, the land, unploughed and unſown by the induſtry of man, flouriſhed in the richeſt luxuriance under the culture of the god [27].

Cirrha taken, and conſequences of the war.

The ſucceſsful event of a war begun, carried on, and concluded under the reſpectable ſanction

The happy iſſue of the ſacred war celebrated by the Pythian games,

[26] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

[27] Εθυετο τα παντα υπο γεωργω τω θεω. LUCIAN. Phalar. ii.

CHAP. V. Olymp. xlvii. 2. A. C. 590.

of the Amphictyonic council, was celebrated with all the pomp and festivity congenial to the Grecian character. According to an ancient and sacred institution, the several republics were accustomed, by public shows, to commemorate their respective victories. When different communities had employed their joint efforts in the same glorious enterprise, the grateful triumph was exhibited with a proportional increase of magnificence; but the fortunate exploits of gods and heroes, which had extensively benefited the whole Grecian name, were distinguished by such peculiar and transcendent honors as eclipsed the splendor of all other solemnities. While each republic paid the tribute of provincial festivals to the memory of its particular benefactors, the whole nation were concerned in acknowledging the bountiful goodness of Jupiter, the protecting aid of Neptune, the unerring wisdom of Apollo, and the unrivalled labors of Hercules. Hence the Olympian, Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games, which, though alike founded on the same principle of pious gratitude, were, from their first establishment, distinguished by different ceremonies, and respectively consecrated to separate divinities.

The Amphictyons were principally indebted to the prudent admonitions of Apollo for the fortunate issue of a war undertaken by his authority; it therefore became them, while they rejoiced in the happy success of their arms, to offer respectful thanks to the god. These objects might easily be conjoined in the pleasing texture of ancient superstition,

since the celebration of the Pythian games, which had been interrupted by a long train of wars and calamities, would form an entertainment not less agreeable to the supposed dictates of piety, than adapted to the natural demands of pleasure. CHAP. V.

The festival re-established on this memorable occasion in honor of Apollo, is mentioned by ancient historians, on account of two remarkable circumstances by which it was distinguished. Instead of the scanty rewards usually distributed among the gymnastic combatants at other public solemnities, the Amphictyons bestowed on the victors the most precious spoils of the cities Crissa and Cirrha. The exhibitions of poetry and music had hitherto been united in all the Grecian festivals, and the laurel crown had been adjudged to the poet-musician, who enlivened the composition of his genius by the sound of his lyre. The Amphictyons for the first time separated the kindred arts; proposed prizes of instrumental music unaccompanied with poetry, and thus afforded an opportunity to the candidates for fame to display their superior merit in their respective professions. This festival distinguished from the preceding by two circumstances.

These are the only particulars concerning the re-establishment of the Pythian games which seemed worthy the observation of Grecian authors, whose works were addressed to men who knew by experience and observation the nature and tendence of their domestic institutions. But a more copious explanation is required, to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. The sacred games of Greece cannot be illustrated by a comparison with any History of the sacred games.

CHAP. V.

thing similar in the present age; they were intimately connected with the whole system of ancient polity, whether civil or religious; they were attended with very extraordinary effects, both of a natural and moral kind; and on all these accounts they merit particular attention in a work which professes to unite the history of arts to that of arms, and to contemplate the varying picture of human manners, as well as the transient revolutions of war and empire.

The Stadium, and gymnastic exercise.

In their most perfect form, the sacred games consisted in the exhibitions of the Stadium and Hippodrome, accompanied by the more refined entertainments of music and poetry. The Olympic Stadium took its name from the measure of length most commonly employed by the Greeks, consisting of the eighth part of a Grecian mile, or six hundred and thirty English feet. The Stadium, still remaining at Athens, has been accurately measured by our travellers, and is an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-seven in breadth: it forms a long and lofty terrace on the banks of the Ilyssus, and its sides were anciently built of white marble. That of Olympia was probably of the same dimensions, but far less magnificent, being entirely composed of earth. The one extremity contained an elevated throne, appropriated for the judges of the games, and a marble altar, on which the priestess of Ceres, and other privileged virgins, sat to behold a solemnity from which the rest of their sex were rigorously excluded. At the other extremity

was the tomb of Endymion, the favorite of chaſte Diana. The Stadium was divided by pillars into two courſes. The five gymnaſtic exerciſes, ſo much celebrated by all the writers of antiquity, and ſo accurately deſcribed by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pauſanias, began with the foot race, which is ſuppoſed to have been the moſt ancient, and which always retained the prerogative of diſtinguiſhing the Olympiads by the name of the victorious racer. The exerciſe at firſt conſiſted in running naked from the one end of the Stadium to the other. The courſe was afterwards doubled, and at length the competitors were required to paſs the goal three, ſix, and even twelve times, before they could be entitled to the prize. Motives of utility introduced the race of men loaded with heavy armor, which rendered this exerciſe a conteſt of ſtrength as well as of ſwiftneſs. 2. The ſecond trial of agility conſiſted in leaping, the competitors endeavouring to ſurpaſs each other in the length, without regard to the height of their leap. They carried in their hands weights of lead, through the perforations of which their fingers paſſed as through the handle of a ſhield, and by theſe they poized, and impelled forwards, their bodies. The perfection attained in this exerciſe muſt have far exceeded the experience of modern times, if we can believe that Phaulus of Crotona [28] leaped fifty-two feet. 3. The wreſtling of the ancients required equal ſtrength

[28] Pauſanias, p. 624.

CHAP. V. and agility. It was chiefly remarkable on account of the oil and ſand with which they rubbed their bodies, in order to ſupple their joints, to prevent exceſſive perſpiration, and to elude the graſp of their antagoniſts. The wreſtlers were matched by lot, and the prize was adjudged to him who had thrice thrown his adverſary on the ground. 4. The two following exerciſes tried chiefly the ſtrength of the arms. The firſt conſiſted in throwing a huge maſs of poliſhed iron, braſs, or ſtone, of a circular form, reſembling a ſhield, but without handle or thong. It was called the diſk, and thrown under the hand as the quoit is in England. The object of the competitors was to ſurpaſs each other in the length of the caſt. A-kin to this was the art of darting the javelin, which, as that weapon was directed at a mark, required ſteadineſs of eye as well as dexterity of hand. 5. The laſt of the gymnaſtic exerciſes both in order and in eſteem, was that of boxing. It was ſometimes performed by the naked fiſt, and ſometimes with the formidable cœſtus, compoſed of raw hides lined with metal. Before the victory could be decided, it was neceſſary, from the nature of that exerciſe, that one of the combatants ſhould acknowledge his defeat; a condition which ſeemed ſo inconſiſtent with the obſtinacy of Grecian valor, that few ventured to contend in this dangerous amuſement. The laws of Sparta abſolutely prohibited her citizens from ever engaging in it, becauſe a Spartan was taught to diſdain ſaving his life by yielding to an opponent. Another reaſon, no leſs remarkable, tended

ſtill more to degrade the exerciſe of boxing. Beſides ſtrength and agility, the ſucceſs of the boxer depended on a certain ponderous fleſhineſs of arm, which unfitted him to engage in any other conteſt. The regimen required for keeping up his corpulence, ſo neceſſary for the defence of his bones againſt the weight of blows, was altogether incompatible with the life of a ſoldier; a life of hardſhip and inequality, and continually expoſed to the want of reſt, of proviſions, and of ſleep. CHAP. V.

Theſe were the five gymnaſtic exerciſes in which the Grecian youth were trained with ſo much care, and to which they applied with ſo much emulation. But beſides theſe ſimple ſports, there were two others formed of their various combination; the Panecratium, which conſiſted of wreſtling and boxing; and the Pentathlon, in which all the five were united; and to excel in ſuch complicated exerciſes required an education and way of living not neceſſary to be obſerved by thoſe who contended in the ſimple feats of ſtrength and agility, and which was ſcarcely compatible with the ſtudy of any other than the athletic profeſſion.

The Hippodrome, or ground allotted for the horſe races, was twice as long as the Stadium [28], and ſufficiently ſpacious to allow forty chariots to drive a-breaſt [29]. The chariot race was inſtituted at Olympia about an hundred years after the regular celebration of the games, and that of riding

The Hippodrome and Equeſtrian exerciſes.

[28] Heſychius. [29] Pauſan. l. vi. p. 382, et 390.

CHAP. V.

horſes twenty years later. Theſe warlike ſports followed the ſame progreſs with the military art, of which they were the image, and in which the uſe of chariots long preceded that of cavalry. The cars of the Greeks, as evidently appears from their medals, were low, open behind, furniſhed with only two wheels, and unprovided with any ſeat for the driver, who ſtood with much difficulty in the body of his vehicle, while he commanded four horſes, which were not paired but formed on one line. Notwithſtanding this inconvenient poſture they performed ſix and ſometimes twelve rounds of the Hippodrome, amounting to ſix Grecian miles of eight hundred paces each, of which an Engliſh mile contains one thouſand five hundred and fifty. The Grecian heroes excelled, during the heroic ages, in this dangerous exerciſe; but in later times the owners of the horſes were allowed to employ a charioteer, which enlarged the ſphere of candidates for the Olympic prize, by admitting many foreign princes, as well as the wealthy ladies of Macedon and Laconia, who could not appear in perſon at this important ſolemnity. Though riding horſes were not ſo early employed as chariots, either at the games, or in war, yet we cannot believe, with a fanciful writer [11], that this circumſtance ſhould have been occaſioned by the timidity of the Greeks to mount on horſeback; for we learn from Homer, that, even in the moſt ancient times, they were acquainted with all the feats of dexterity

[11] The Chevalier Folard.

performed by our moſt accompliſhed jockies [12]. But before the Perſian war, the poverty of the Greeks prevented them from importing foreign horſes, and their domeſtic breed was naturally of an inferior kind to thoſe of Aſia and Africa. The Spartans firſt employed them in battle during their wars with the Meſſenians. In the Perſian expedition, Xerxes tried the mettle of the Perſian, againſt the Theſſalian horſes, and the former carried off the palm in every conteſt. For a conſiderable time after the ſhameful retreat of that haughty monarch, the Athenians, who then formed the moſt powerful community of Greece, had a ſquadron of only three hundred horſemen: and it was not till that ambitious republic had begun to extend her dominion over the inferior ſtates, that ſhe ſeriouſly applied to the improvement of her cavalry. CHAP. V.

The muſical entertainments.

While the Greeks thus acquired the accompliſhments of the body, and diſplayed at Olympia their ſkill in horſemanſhip; and their vigor in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, the more refined entertainments of the fancy were not neglected; and the agreeable productions of muſic and poetry added luſtre and elegance to every Grecian ſolemnity. It is well obſerved by the only ancient writer to whom we are indebted for an hiſtorical account of Grecian muſic, that the arts of peace, as they are more agreeable and more uſeful than thoſe of war, demand, in a ſuperior degree, the

[12] Iliad. xv. ver. 679.

CHAP. V.

regard of the hiſtorian. If this had been the general opinion of authors, the ſtudy of their works would be equally entertaining and inſtructive. The writer of hiſtory would explain the various diſcoveries which happily tend to improve and to embelliſh ſocial life; by introducing ſcenes of gaiety and pleaſure, he would diverſify the eternal theme of human miſery; and while he expatiated on the crimes and calamities of men, he would not neglect to point out the means beſt adapted to prevent the perpetration of the one, and to ſooth the ſuffering of the other. But the Greek hiſtorians have not attempted to afford us this important information; they enlarge copiouſly on ſuch topics as are adapted to the uſe of their countrymen; and they preſerve the moſt mortifying ſilence concerning thoſe ſubjects which deſervedly excite the curioſity of later ages. Of all the arts cultivated by the ingenuity of their contemporaries, muſic was the moſt connected with religion, government, and manners; and the effects aſcribed to Grecian muſic are numbered among the moſt ſingular as well as the moſt authentic of all recorded events [11]; yet as to the nature, the origin, the progreſs, the perfection, in one word, the hiſtory of this art, we can know little more than what we learn from

[11] The continual complaints of Plato and Ariſtotle prove that the muſic of their age had greatly degenerated from its ancient dignity. It afterwards continued, like all the other arts, gradually to decline; yet, in the ſecond century before Chriſt, the grave, judicious, and well-informed Polybius aſcribes the moſt extraordinary effects to the grecian muſic. Polybius, l. iv. c. xx. et ſeq.

the muſical treatiſe of Plutarch, to which we have above alluded, which is extremely ſhort and imperfect, obſcure throughout, and in many parts unintelligible [34].

CHAP. V.

Why introduced at the public games.

Without much hiſtorical information, however, we may venture to explain the introduction of muſical entertainments at the four public ſolemnities. Theſe grand ſpectacles were deſtined to exhibit an embelliſhed repreſentation of the ordinary tranſactions of real life, and while the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes repreſented the image of war, the moſt ſerious occupation of the Greeks, muſic recalled the memory of religion and love, their moſt agreeable amuſements. Beſides this, as muſic in thoſe early times was cloſely connected with poetry [35], and as the uſe of proſe compoſition was not known in Greece till the time of Pherecydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, who flouriſhed only five hundred and forty-four years before Chriſt [36], the name of muſic naturally comprehended all the learning of the age; and to obtain the prize in the muſical conteſts, was equivalent to the glory of being declared ſuperior to the reſt of mankind in mental abilities and endowments.

Extent of Grecian muſic.

[34] Mr. Burette, a French phyſician, has tranſlated this treatiſe in the tenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, etc. He finds fewer difficulties in it, than preſent themſelves to men far better acquainted with the theory and practice of this elegant art. See Burney on Muſic, vol. i. p. 36.

[35] The ſame words ſignified a ſong and a poem, a muſician and a poet; ωδαι, ασματα; ωδη, ωδικοι αοιδοι. Heſych.

[36] Strabo, l. i.

CHAP. V.

Purpoſes to which it was applied.

Theſe abilities and endowments were anciently regarded in proportion to their utility. Before the practice of writing was introduced, the hiſtory of paſt events could be preſerved only by tradition; and tradition was rendered more ſure and permanent, by being committed to the ſafe protection of harmonious numbers [17]. The cuſtomary offices of religion were celebrated in poetical compoſition, and the various hymns appropriated to the worſhip of particular divinities, were retained by the faithful memory of their reſpective votaries. The tuneful tribe, who were thus employed to extol the bounty of the gods, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to record and perpetuate the accumulated wiſdom of antiquity, condeſcended alſo to regulate the duties, and to improve the pleaſures, of private life. The ſame bards who taught the men to be brave, exhorted the women to be chaſte [18]. Poetry, together with the ſiſter arts of muſic and dancing, are elegantly called by Homer the chief ornaments of the feaſt. The poet-muſician quelled ſeditions in ſtates [19], and maintained the domeſtic quiet of families; while he publiſhed laws of the moſt extenſive influence over the whole community, he diſdained not to animate the humble but neceſſary labors of the mechanic; every profeſſion in ſociety, even the meaneſt and

[17] Ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν ὁ πεζὸς λογος κατασκευασμενος μιμημα τῆ ποιητικῆ ἐστι. πρωτισται γαρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρηλθεν εις το μεσον.

Strabo, l. i.

[18] Of this we have an example in Homer's Demodicus.

[19] See what is ſaid above of Tyrtæus, p. 188.

moſt vulgar, was encouraged and adorned by its particular ſong [40]; and the moſt ordinary tranſactions of common life, however trivial and low and unintereſting in themſelves, were heightened and ennobled by the combined charms of muſic and poetry.

The degree of perfection in which theſe arts are found in any country, depends on the language and character of the people by whom they are cultivated. Of this there is abundant proof in the hiſtory of ancient, as well as in that of modern nations. The melancholy, ſtern [41], atrocious and unrelenting temper of the Egyptians (the ſuppoſed inſtructors of Greece) diſqualified that nation either for improving or for reliſhing the beauties of harmony. The harſh diſſonance of the eaſtern languages, their deficiency in vowels, and the inflexible thickneſs of their ſounds, rendered them but little ſuſceptible of muſical compoſition. The

[40] See Athenæus paſſim, and the diſcourſes on the Greek ſongs, in the 3d volume of the excellent ſelection of the Memoirs of the Academy.

[41] The nature of the government furniſhes another reaſon for the imperfection of Egyptian muſic. Homer characterizes Egypt by the epithet πικρος, bitter, to denote the rigid ſeverity of the laws. Among that grave and formal people, the hours of amuſement, as well as of buſineſs, were proſcribed by law. There was a particular time of the day, not only for attending the courts of juſtice, but for walking, bathing, and even for performing the duties of matrimony. Diodor. Siculus. Poetry, muſic, ſculpture, and all other arts, were regulated by expreſs ſtatute; and if we may believe Plato, continued invariable for many thouſand years. Plato de Legibus. The auſterity and reſtraints of deſpotiſm are inconſiſtent with that flowing freedom of genius neceſſary to the perfection of poetry.

CHAP. V.

muſic of the Egyptians and Orientals therefore depended rather on the quantity than the quality of ſound; and the principal object of their art was rather to rouſe the attention by noiſe, than to charm the ſoul by melody.

Its origin.

The language and manners of the Greeks were of a different and a far ſuperior kind, to thoſe of the neighbouring nations. Hence may be deduced the origin and peculiar excellence of their muſic; which, though injudiciouſly [42] aſcribed to the invention of Thracians, Myſians, and other barbarous ſtrangers, muſt have been the natural production of Grecian genius, ſince the three moſt ancient modes of muſic were the Dorian, Ionian, and Eolian, corresponding with the three great diviſions of the Hellenic race, and the three principal diſtinctions of the Hellenic tongue. [43]

Cauſes of the perfection of the Grecian language and muſic.

The perfection of language, as well as of muſic, depends on the melody of its ſounds; their meaſure or rhythm; their variety; and their ſuitableneſs to the ſubject which they are meant to deſcribe or to expreſs. The circumſtances of the Greeks in the earlieſt periods of their ſociety [44] rendered them peculiarly attentive to all theſe objects. They lived continually in crowds; all matters of conſequence were decided by the voice of the aſſembly;

[42] While detraction referred the diſcovery of muſic to ſtrangers, vanity referred it to the gods; and both accounts ſerve to prove the great antiquity of the art. Plut. de Muſic.

[43] We owe the knowledge of this important circumſtance to Heraclides of Pontus, the contemporary and ſcholar of Plato. His words are cited by Athenæus, l. xiv.

[44] See above, chap. ii.

and, next to the force of his arm, every warrior felt himself indebted to the persuasive accents of his tongue. The perpetual necessity of employing the power of eloquence during the infancy of their political state, made them retain the original tones and cadences by which men, as yet unpractised in the use of arbitrary signs, had made known their affections and their wants. These tones and cadences, imitating the language of action (the first and most natural language of solitary savages), possessed a degree of energy and of warmth which can never be attained by the mere artifice of articulate sounds [45]. By uniting them to these sounds, the Greeks gave all the force of a natural, to an arbitrary sign. Music and action were incorporated in the substance of their speech; and the descriptive power of words was extended to all those objects which can be characterized by sound and motion, or which the various modifications of these qualities can suggest to the mind of man.

A language thus founded on the broad basis of nature, contained within itself the fruitful seeds of the imitative arts, and the rich materials of all that is *beautiful* and *grand* in literary composition [46]. It

[45] See an excellent discourse of the Abbé Arnaut, on the Greek accents, in the 3d volume of the Choix de Mémoires.

[46] These words very inadequately express the ἡδὺ and the μεγαλοπρεπὲς of Dionysius, de Struct. Orat. The ingenious and philosophical critic ranges under two heads, the qualities of style fitted to please the ear and the imagination. These are the *sweet*, and the *fair*. Under the first are contained smoothness, beauty, grace, persuasion, etc. Under the second, dignity, weight, magnificence, and force. The

CHAP. V. is a ſubject of equal curioſity and importance, to examine how theſe materials were wrought up, and how theſe ſeeds were unfolded. In attempting, with much diffidence, to give ſome account of this delicate and refined operation, we ſhall obſerve the diviſion above-mentioned, and conſider the melody, meaſure, variety, and expreſſion of the Grecian poetry and muſic; arts once deemed ſo intimately connected, that their disjunction at the Pythian games, of which we have already taken notice, was emphatically compared by ancient writers to the ſeparation of the ſoul and body.

Melody of language.

The pleaſure ariſing from the agreeable ſucceſſion of ſounds depends either on the combination of letters, or on that of muſical tones [42]. The attention which the Greeks paid to the former, is evident from the whole ſtructure of their language. Wherever propriety permits [43], they always employ full, open, and [44] *magnificent* ſounds; innumerable rules of flexion and derivation are founded merely on the pleaſure of the ear; and the great principle of the fine arts, to move and affect, without fatiguing the ſenſes, cannot be better illuſtrated

two kinds of ſtyle have a ſimilar relation to each other, which the pleaſures of the taſte, expreſſed by the word ἡδυς, have to thoſe of the eye, expreſſed by καλος.

[42] Dionyſius comprehends both under the word μελος, melody.

[43] The το πρεπον, Dionyſius obſerves, may ſometimes require harſh, cloſe, and diſagreeable ſounds.

[44] The μεγαλοπρεπεις of Dionyſius.

than

than by the inimitable compoſition[*] of elements which characterizes the general texture of the Grecian tongue. Whether the ancient poets and orators diſcovered this compoſition by inveſtigation, or only preferred it from taſte, is a queſtion that may be eaſily anſwered, if we reflect, that ſuch a diſcovery by inveſtigation ſuppoſes an acquaintance with the moſt abſtruſe principles of philoſophy, principles altogether unknown in that early age, during which the compoſition of elemental ſounds attained its higheſt beauty and perfection. We may therefore without temerity conclude, that ſentiment firſt directed to the practice of thoſe rules which reaſon afterwards approved; and that this progreſs equally obtained in the articulation of voice, and the intonation of ſound.

CHAP. V.

The *latter*, the agreeable compoſition of which is properly ſtyled melody, was improved to ſuch an extraordinary degree about the time of Homer, as rendered the productions of Olympus, and other ancient poet-muſicians, the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. Unfortunately for the hiſtory of the arts, we have not any ſuch analyſis of the muſic of Olympus, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has left us of the poetry of Homer. We are informed, however, that the ancient melody was not

Melody of Muſic.

[*] As all languages are relative to the organs of ſpeech, they may all be analized into about twenty-four letters, or elemental ſounds, the combination of which forms the wonderful variety of language; a variety reſulting from the reſpective characters and circumſtances of different nations.

CHAP. V.

only divided, like the modern, by tones and ſemitones, but alſo diſtinguiſhed by the dieſis, or quarter-tone; an interval of which modern muſicians rarely make uſe. The genus of muſic, regulated by this interval, a genus to which the moſt powerful effects are aſcribed by ancient writers, was known by the name of the enharmonic; the genus, proceeding by ſemitones, was called the chromatic; and the diatonic, which denotes a progreſſion by tones and ſemitones, expreſſed a muſical ſcale nearly reſembling that of the modern nations of Europe[51].

The different genera.

Theſe obſervations will give the reader an idea of the intervals in the different *genera*, which is all that we can learn on this ſubject from the learned collection of Meibomius. In none of the muſical treatiſes in that collection do we find any ſpecimen of ancient melody; nor are we enabled, by any circumſtance mentioned in them, to aſcertain the qualities which formed its principal merit. The invention of the enharmonic genus is aſcribed by Plutarch to Olympus, who happening to ſkip certain intervals in the diatonic ſcale, obſerved the beauty of the effect, and the peculiar force and character which the regular omiſſion of the ſame intervals beſtowed on the melody. Upon this obſervation, he is ſaid to have founded a new

Peculiar effect of the enharmonic genus explained.

[51] It is ſufficient to explain the things ſignified by the enharmonic and diatonic. When, or why, theſe names were beſtowed on the two kinds of muſic which they reſpectively denote, is diſputed by philologiſts; and I have not met with any thing on the ſubject that ſeemed worthy of being tranſcribed.

genus of muſic remarkable for ſimplicity, gravity, and grandeur. Theſe qualities might, doubtleſs, be produced by the happy diſcovery, ſeconded by the lofty genius of Olympus; and to them, perhaps, we may refer the enthuſiaſm and ſublimity by which his compoſitions were diſtinguiſhed. The employing of the greater intervals ſupported the dignity and character, while the uſe of the dieſis chiefly contributed to the refinement and delicacy, of Grecian muſic. The bold ſeparation of notes expreſſed the firmer feelings, and deſcribed the ſtronger emotions of the ſoul; while the more inſenſible diſtinctions of ſound painted the innumerable ſhades and faint fluctuations of paſſion; as when the voice gradually aſcended through the ſmalleſt perceptible diviſions, it would admirably expreſs the progreſs of a reſpectful but ardent affection, unable to hide, yet afraid to reveal its force, and ſtriving by repeated efforts to overcome its natural timidity.

CHAP. V.

But by whatever conjectures we may explain the powers of ancient enharmonic, it appears from the univerſal conſent of Greek writers, that the melody of muſic and of language differed only in degree, not in kind. The variations of *accent*, for *that* is the proper word to expreſs the melody of language, ſeldom exceeded, in common diſcourſe, the difference of three notes and a half, which makes Dionyſius obſerve, that it never exceeds the compaſs of one interval, the diapenté, or fifth. He pretends not, however, that in rhetorical declamation, the flexions of the voice

Connection between the melody of language and muſic.

CHAP. V.

were so narrowly circumscribed; and it is probable that in poetry, their range was always more extensive than in the most animated prose. When the poet therefore composed his verse, he was obliged to pay an equal attention to accent and to quantity: the acuteness and gravity of sounds, as well as the length and shortness of syllables, contributed to the effect of his art; and each particular word having not only its determined duration, but its appropriated tones, obtained that place in the verse which was felt to be most agreeable to the ear, and best adapted to the subject. The poet therefore naturally performed the office of the musician; and clothed his own thoughts and sentiments with that combination of sounds, which rendered them most beautiful and expressive.

Of quantity and rhythm.

As accent regulated the melody, quantity regulated the rhythm of ancient music. The most melodious succession of tones, however flattering to the ear, must soon become tiresome and disagreeable, when continued without interruption or pause, and undistinguished by such proportions of duration, as are readily seized and measured by the senses. This truth the Greeks illustrated by a comparison. The most brilliant composition of colors is nothing better, they observed, than a gaudy show; dazzling the sight for a moment, but passing afterwards disregarded and unobserved. But to this showy coloring let the painter add the solid beauties of design, and he will convert an empty amusement of the eye, into an elegant entertainment of the fancy. What design is to coloring

measure is to melody. It is measure that animates the song, and which, combined with the inimitable charms of Grecian verse, produced those extraordinary effects, which the ignorance and credulity of early ages weakly deemed miraculous. On measure principally depended the different *modes* of music, by which the most opposite passions were alternately excited in the mind; and courage, pride, timidity, love, anger, resentment, successively diffused through a numerous assembly, at the will of a skilful composer. The difference of modes, indeed, arose also, in some measure, from the difference of key; and the same succession of sounds, pronounced with various degrees of acuteness or gravity, may doubtless produce effects more or less powerful: but dissimilar effects it never can produce; so that the grandeur of the Doric, the polished elegance of the Ionic, the soothing sweetness of the Eolic mode [52], must have resulted from the rhythm or measure, which governing the movement of the verse, thereby determined its expression.

CHAP. V.

Of propriety and expression.

Besides these three modes, formerly mentioned as the original invention of Greece, the natives of that country gradually adopted several others that had been discovered by the neighbouring nations; particularly the Phrygian, consecrated to religious ceremonies, and the Lydian, appropriated to the expression of complaint or sorrow. The variety,

[52] Lucian Harmon. sub initio, et Heraclid. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

CHAP. V.

Of the variety and perfection of Grecian muſic.

indeed, at length became greater than can be eaſily conceived by ſuch as are unacquainted with the mechaniſm of ancient languages. Every ſpecies of verſe (and of verſe there were above an hundred different kinds) occaſioned a change of muſical meaſure, and introduced what, in muſical language, may be called a different time. Theſe meaſures were only to be employed agreeably to the rules of propriety and decorum which had been diſcovered in thoſe great principles of nature to which all rules of art muſt ultimately be referred. A ſlow ſucceſſion of lengthened tones expreſſed moderation and firmneſs; a rapid inequality of verſe betrayed diſorderly and ignoble paſſions; the mind was tranſported by ſudden tranſitions, and rouſed by impetuous reiterations of ſound; a gradual aſcent of notes accorded with all thoſe affections which warm and expand the heart; and the contrary movement naturally coincided with ſuch ſentiments as depreſs the ſpirits, and extinguiſh the generous ardor of the ſoul. Having fixed, with the moſt accurate preciſion, the wide variety of *modes* and *genera*, the Greeks ſeldom confounded them in the ſame piece, and never applied them to any ſubject which they had not been originally deſtined to expreſs. The natural perceptions of taſte were gradually ſtrengthened by habit; the principles of muſic were clearly aſcertained, and univerſally underſtood; and poſſeſſing the warmth and energy of the language of nature, they acquired the perſpicuity and extent of the language of convention. This is juſtly deemed,

the height of musical perfection [1], and to this height the Greeks had attained, in the beginning of the 6th century before Christ.

CHAP. V.

[1] The question, whether the Greeks knew music in parts, has been carefully examined by Mr. Burette (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions); by Rousseau (Dictionnaire de Musique); and by Dr. Burney (History of Music, vol. i. p. 146, et seq.). These writers, who are so well entitled to decide on this subject, pronounce the Greeks to have been unacquainted with counterpoint. But that their ignorance in this respect did not detract from the perfection, or diminish the effects of their music, may be credited, on the unsuspicious testimony of an ingenious Italian. "Il contrappunto, essendo "composito di varie parti, l'una acuta, l'altra grave, questa di "andamento presto, quella di tarde, che hanno a trovarsi insieme, "et ferir l'orecchie ad un tempo, come potrebbe egli muovere nell "animo nostro, una tal determinata passione, la quale, di sua "natura, richiede un determinato moto, ed un determinato suono?" Algarotti, Saggio sopra l'Opera in Musica.

CHAP. VI.

The Grecian Bards. — Heroic Poetry. — Change of Manners. — Iambic or Satire. — Elegy. — Tyrtæus, Callinus, Mimnermus — Life of Archilochus. — Terpander. — Lyric Poetry. — The Nine Lyric Poets. — Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar. — Effects of the Sacred Games. — Strength. — Courage. — Contempt of Prejudices. — Taste. — Moral Principle. — Intellectual Powers. — Genius.

CHAP. VI.

Early perfection of the Grecian music and poetry.

POETRY has described the wonderful effects of Grecian music; and the inimitable excellence of ancient poets can alone render the description credible. Yet the early perfection of these elegant arts, asserted by the gravest writers of antiquity, seems extremely inconsistent with the received doctrines concerning the progress of civil society. Both in the ancient and modern world, the great system of practical knowledge, subservient to the useful purposes of human life, appears to have been slowly raised, and gradually extended, by successive trials, and reiterated efforts. Among savages, scarcely any distinction of professions takes place; the activity of each individual supplies his own wants. During the intermediate stages of society, men are still condemned to a wide variety of occupations; and their attention being

distracted by a multiplicity of pursuits, it is impossible that, in any one art, they should reach proficiency, or even aspire to excellence. But, contrary to this observation, the Grecian music and poetry are represented as most perfect in their united state; the immortal fathers of verse excelled alike, it is said, in all the various kinds of poetical composition [1]; and their inimitable productions were so far from advancing, by a gradual progress, to perfection, that the most ancient are, by universal consent, entitled to a just preference [2].

CHAP. VI.

The history of these admired authors is, unfortunately, as uncertain, as their merit was illustrious. The Greeks possessing much traditionary and little recorded information concerning the antiquities of their country, the great inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of society, have been deprived of their merited fame and well-earned honors. Their names indeed, like firm rocks resisting the assaults of the ocean, bid defiance to the depredations of time; but of Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, and Melampus, little else than the names remain; and to determine the time in which they

[1] We are told by Aristotle, in the 4th chapter of his Poetics, that Homer wrote an iambic poem, entitled Margites, bearing the same relation to comedy and satire, that the Iliad bears to tragedy and panegyric. Notwithstanding the express testimony of the great critic, two very elegant scholars have said, that the hexameter was the only kind of verse known in the time of Homer; the Abbé Arnaut, in his excellent discourse on the Greek accents, and Mr. Burette, in his Commentary on Plut. de Music.

[2] Græcorum antiquissima quæque scripta vel optima. Horat. Epist. l. ii. Ep. 1.

CHAP. VI. flourished, was a matter of as much difficulty two thousand years ago [3], as it remains in the present age.

Since even the chronology of the ancient bards is so extremely uncertain [4], it cannot be expected that we should be able to give a circumstantial account of their life and writings. Instead of considering minutely, therefore, the private history of

[3] Herodotus, who read his history at the Olympic games 444 years B. C. expresses himself as follows: "Homer and Hesiod lived "about four hundred years ago; not more; and these are the poets "who composed a Theogony for the Greeks; who assigned to the "gods their respective appellations and epithets; distinguished their "several forms; and defined the arts in which they excelled, and "the honors to which they were entitled. As to the poets who "are supposed to have preceded them, I am of opinion that they "flourished in a later age." According to Herodotus, therefore, the age of Homer is fifty years later than it is placed by the marbles of Paros. But on this subject we have surer evidence than any monuments of marble, or even the testimony of Herodotus can afford. The circumstantial minuteness, and infinite variety, which characterize the Iliad and Odyssey prove their inimitable author to have lived near the times which he describes. He conversed in his youth with those who had seen the heroes of the Trojan war; and, in the vigor of his age, beheld the grandchildren of Æneas, Ulysses, Achilles, and Agamemnon.

Νυν δε δη Αινειαο γενος Τρωεσσι ανασσει

Και παισὶς παιδων τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται. Iliad. xx. ver. 306. The learned reader may consult the note on the passage in Clerk's Homer, where Dionysius of Halicarnassus is quoted, to prove that the poet says nothing inconsistent with Æneas's voyage into Italy. It is to be observed, that the force of the criticism evaporates in Mr. Pope's translation.

[4] The preceding note proves the ignorance of Herodotus, and his contemporaries, concerning the history of their ancient bards; since of these venerable fathers of the Grecian religion and policy, two are mentioned by Homer himself; Linus, in the description of the sh eld of Achilles, Il. xviii; Melampus, in the 11th book of the Odyssey, ver. 15.

individuals, a task which suits neither the design of the present work, nor the incredulity of the present age, we shall endeavour to explain the general nature and tendence of their profession, as well as the circumstances which conspired to raise it to that rank and dignity which it long held in society. During the heroic ages, the Grecian poets had one uniform character; and if we may depend on the positive assertions of antiquity, the same individual was alike successful in the various branches of his divine art [5]. The earliest poets, therefore, may be represented in one picture, and delineated by the same strokes, until their profession came to be separated into different departments. We shall then distinguish the heroic, iambic, lyric, elegiac, and other kinds of poetical composition; offer some account of the improvers of each particular species; and examine such fragments of their works as deserve attention, not merely on account of their own intrinsic merit, but as genuine and authentic, and indeed the only genuine and authentic transcripts of the manners of that early age in which they were composed.

CHAP. VI.

In ancient Greece, the favorites of fortune were often the favorites of the muses. There remain not, indeed, the works of any Grecian king; but we are told by Homer, that Achilles sung to his lyre the glory of heroes; Amphion, to whose musical powers such wonderful [6] effects

The Grecian bards.

[5] There are not any two kinds of poetry more different than those ascribed to Homer by Aristotle, Poetic. chap. iv.

[6] Movet Amphion lapides canendo. Hor.

CHAP. VI.

are aſcribed, reigned in Thebes; the poet Melampus obtained royal authority in Argos; and Chiron, the wiſe Centaur [7], though deſcended of the moſt illuſtrious anceſtors, and entitled to the firſt rank among the Theſſalian princes, preferred to the enjoyment of power, the cultivation of poetry, and retired, with his favorite muſes, to a ſolitary cavern at the foot of mount Pelion, which was ſoon rendered, by the fame of his abilities, the moſt celebrated ſchool of antiquity [8].

The muſical arts were not only deemed worthy the ambition of princes, but thought capable of elevating ordinary men to the firſt ranks in ſociety. By excelling in ſuch accompliſhments, Anthes of Bœotia, Olen of Lycia, Olympus of Phrygia [9], obtained the higheſt pre-eminence. Nor was it during their lifetime only that they enjoyed the happy fruits of their elegant labors. They were regarded as peculiarly deſerving of a double immortality; living for ever in the memory of men, and being admitted, according to the belief of antiquity, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed honors in the celeſtial regions [10].

[7] Moſt of the heroes of the Trojan war were his diſciples. Xenoph. de Venat. ſub initio.

[8] Xenoph. ibid.

[9] Mr. Burette has collected the moſt intereſting particulars concerning theſe bards, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

[10] Muſæum ante omnes. Virg. Æn. vi. It is not eaſy to diſcover the reaſon why Virgil, in his Elyſium, has placed Muſæus before all the reſt. This venerable bard, by ſome called the ſon, by others the diſciple of Orpheus, is univerſally allowed to have been a native of Attica. The admirer of Grecian eloquence (Orabant Cauſas melius) intended, perhaps, to compliment the country of Muſæus.

CHAP. VI.

It has been already obſerved, that the texture of the Grecian tongue was ſingularly well adapted to the improvement of poetry; and this favorable circumſtance was admirably ſeconded by the political condition of the Greeks in the early periods of their ſociety. Religion then formed the ſole principle of government; and the belief of religion was chiefly ſupported by the Theogonies [11], while its ceremonies were principally adorned by the hymns of the bards. Theſe two kinds of poetry, doubtleſs the moſt ancient and the moſt venerable, formed the main pillars of the political edifice; and the eſſential parts of this edifice conſiſting in the praiſe of the gods, its brighteſt ornaments were compoſed of the glory of heroes. The hymns maintained the power of religion, the ſong animated to valor; and both powerfully affected that peculiar ſenſibility of temper, and that romantic turn of fancy, the prevailing characteriſtics of Greece during the heroic ages.

Their influence on ſociety.

Neither the Runers of the north, nor the Troubadours of Provence, nor the Bards of Germany, nor even the Druids of Gaul and Britain, poſſeſſed more diſtinguiſhed authority than the Aoidoi, or Rhapſodiſts, of the Greeks. The firſt requiſite of their profeſſion was, to know many ſoothing tales [12]; and it was the daily object of their art, to

[11] A Theogony is a poem explaining, not merely, as the name denotes, the generation, but alſo the hiſtory of the gods. Moſt of the ancient poets mentioned in the text wrote Theogonies. Diod. l. iii. Plut. de Muſic.

[12] Πολλα θελκτηρια. HOMER.

CHAP. VI.

delight gods and men [13]. The piety of the prieſt, and the inſpiration of the prophet, were intimately connected with the enthuſiaſm of poetry; and poets, who had celebrated the glory of the paſt, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of the future generation [14]. It is probable, however, that the ancient bards had frequent avocations from their literary labors. The curioſity, natural to men of genius, would frequently tempt them to viſit diſtant countries. The admiration paid to their abilities could only be upheld by novelty. Both inclination and intereſt, therefore, would prompt them to ſail to foreign lands, to examine their civil and religious inſtitutions, and to converſe with their prieſts and poets, from whom they might derive ſuch information as would enable them, on their return home, to ſurpriſe, entertain, and inſtruct their fellow-citizens.

Their travels.

Of all nations, the Greeks enjoyed moſt advantages for travelling; and of all Grecian profeſſions, that of the bard. The general diffuſion of their national language and colonies, as well as the ſacred character with which they were inveſted, entitled this venerable claſs of men to expect a ſecure retreat among the moſt inhoſpitable barbarians. Whatever country they viſited, the

[13] Θεοισι τε και ανθρωποισι αειδειν. HOMER.

[14] In early ages, the education of youth was intruſted only to the firſt ranks in ſociety. This profeſſion was practiſed in Greece by Homer, as we learn from his life, falſely aſcribed to Herodotus, yet certainly very ancient. In Gaul it belonged to the Druids. Vid. Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. vi.

CHAP. VI.

elegant entertainment derived from their art procured them a welcome reception at religious festivals, and all public solemnities. Amidst the most dreadful calamities which afflict mankind, the bards alone were exempted from the common danger. They could behold, in safety, the tumult of the battle; they could witness, undisturbed, the horror of a city taken by storm; calm and serene themselves, they might contemplate the furious conflicts, and wild agitations, of the passions. It belonged to them only, and to the sacred character of the herald, to observe and examine, without personal danger, the natural expressions of fear, rage, or despair, in the countenances and gestures of the vanquished, as well as the insolent triumph of success, the fury of resentment, the avidity of gain, and the thirst of blood, in the wild aspect and mad demeanour of the victors. Having considered at full leisure the most striking peculiarities of those agitated and distressful scenes, the poet might retire to his cavern, or grotto, and there delineate, in secure tranquillity, such a warm and expressive picture of the manners and misfortunes of men, as should astonish his contemporaries, and excite the sympathetic terror and pity of the most distant posterity.

The respect belonging to their character,

favorable to their poetical studies.

If the Grecian bards were fortunate in observing such events of their own age as were most susceptible of the ornaments of poetical imitation, they were still more fortunate in living at a period which afforded a wonderful variety of such events. Amidst the unsettled turbulence of rising states,

Peculiar advantages of the age in which they lived.

CHAP. VI.

the foundation and deſtruction of cities, the perpetual wars and negociations of neighbouring communities, they were daily preſented with ſubjects worthy the grandeur of the heroic muſe. The eſtabliſhment of colonies, the origin of new ſuperſtitions, as well as the imaginary legends which ſupported the old, furniſhed copious materials for many a wondrous ſong. Theſe materials, being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embelliſhed by the fancy of the early bards; who, continually rehearſing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or diſlike, the circumſtances neceſſary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happieſt effect, and the higheſt degree of ſtrength and beauty. As writing was little practiſed for the purpoſe of communicating knowledge, ſucceeding poets learned to repeat the verſes of their predeceſſors; and, having treaſured them in their memory, they adopted them as their own. Frequent repetition, attended with ſuch careful obſervations as were natural to men whoſe character depended on the ſucceſs of their art, led to new alterations and amendments[11]; and their performances, thus improving by degrees, acquired that juſt meaſure of perfection, to which nothing could with propriety be added, and from which nothing could with propriety be taken away. In this manner, perhaps, the Iliad and Odyſſey

The perfection and authority of their works.

[11] Εργαζονται την ποιητικην εκ των αυτοσχεδιασματων. Ariſtot. Poet. c. iv.

received

received the laſt poliſh; the harmonious animation of poetry was admired as the language of the gods; and poets, originally the miniſters of heaven, the inſtructors of youth, and the rewarders of merit, were finally regarded as the great authors of religion, the principal benefactors of mankind, and, as ſhall be explained hereafter, the wiſe legiſlators of nations.

Change of manners, and introduction of iambic, or ſatire.

As the ſingular manners and events of the heroic ages naturally produced the lofty ſtrains of the epic muſe, ſo the ſtate of ſociety in Greece, during the immediately ſucceeding periods, highly favored the introduction of other kinds of poetry. The abolition of the royal governments gave free ſcope to the activity and turbulence of democracy; and the rivalſhips and enmities of neighbouring ſtates, rankling in the minds of their citizens, prepared the imaginations of men for taking a malignant pleaſure in works of invective and reproach. The innumerable cauſes of alienation, hatred, and diſguſt, which operated alſo within the boſom of each little republic, opened an inexhauſtible ſource of ſatire. The competition for civil offices, for military command, and for other places of truſt, profit, or honor, all of which were conferred by the free ſuffrages of the people, occaſioned irreconcileable variance between the ambitious members of the ſame community, and ſubjected the characters of men to mutual ſcrutiny and remark. The ſentiments of the Greeks, not being perverted by the habits of ſlavery, nor reſtrained by the terrors

CHAP. VI.

of a deſpot, they boldly expreſſed what they freely thought; they might openly declare a juſt contempt; and, while they extolled in the lofty ode and ſwelling panegyric the heroes and patriots whom they admired, they laſhed the cowards and traitors whom they deſpiſed, with all the ſeverity of ſatire.

Elegiac verſe.

The ode and ſatire may be ſucceſsfully cultivated by imitators in the worſt of times; but they could ſcarcely have been invented and perfected under any other than a popular government. The plaintive elegy, on the other hand, which deſcribes the torments of unſucceſsful love, or which paints the affliction of a miſerable parent, an affectionate ſon, a diſconſolate wife, or a faithful friend, for the loſs of the ſeveral objects moſt dear to their hearts, ſeems to be the ſpontaneous production of every ſoil, and hardly to receive any change of impreſſion from the fluctuating forms of ſociety. The particular purpoſes, however, to which the Greeks principally applied this ſpecies of poetry, appear to have been ſuggeſted by their peculiar circumſtances at the time of its origin. During the violence and diſorder occaſioned by the political revolutions, the frequent migrations, and the almoſt uninterrupted hoſtilities which ſucceeded and increaſed the calamities of the Trojan war, it was natural for thoſe who reaſoned concerning the affairs of men, to form, according to the original bent of their minds, two oppoſite theories for the beſt improvement of human life. Men of a firm texture of ſoul would prepare for the miſery which

The purpoſes to which it was applied naturally ſuggeſted by the ſtate of ſociety.

awaited them, by ſtrengthening their natural hardi- CHAP. VI.
neſs, and fortifying their natural intrepidity. The contempt of pain, and danger, and death, would be the great principle of their lives, and the perpetual ſubject of their ſong; and while they deſcribed the inevitable diſgrace of weakneſs and cowardice, they would extol, with the moſt lively ſenſibility, the glory of valor, the triumphs of ſucceſs, and the joys of victory. Such themes might delight the martial muſe of Tyrtæus and Callinus, but could offer no charms to the effeminate ſoftneſs of Mimnermus, or the licentious debauchery of Archilochus. To perſons of their character, the calamities of the times, inſtead of appearing an argument for virtue, would prove an incitement to pleaſure. The precarious condition of their lives and fortunes, while it depreciated all other objects, would increaſe the value of preſent enjoyment. In the agreeable amuſements of the fleeting hour, they would ſeek refuge againſt the melancholy proſpect of futurity. The pleaſures of the table, the delights of love, the charm of the elegant arts and of converſation, would be perpetually ſtudied in their lives, and perpetually recommended in their poetry.

The precious remains of their writings, and ſtill more the authentic circumſtances related concerning the characters of the ancient poets, ſufficiently confirm the truth of theſe obſervations. Next to Homer, Archilochus is the earlieſt Greek writer, whoſe life is recorded ſo minutely as may ſerve to throw any conſiderable light on the hiſtory of his

Theſe obſervations illuſtrated by the hiſtory of Archilochus. Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

CHAP. VI.

country. We are told by Herodotus [16], that he flouriſhed in the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, who mounted the throne ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt. He was a native of the iſle of Paros, one of the Cyclades, which had already become wealthy and populous. His father, Teleſicles, muſt have been a perſon of diſtinction, ſince he was employed to head a deputation of his countrymen to the oracle of Apollo. The object of the Parians was to obtain a favorable anſwer from the god concerning an enterpriſe, which they had long meditated, of ſettling a colony in the valuable iſland of Thaſos, oppoſite to the coaſt of Thrace. The oracle approved the deſign, and in order to reward the reſpectful behaviour, and to repay the rich preſents delivered to the holy ſhrine by Teleſicles, who had unfortunately diſgraced the dignity of his rank by an unequal marriage with a beautiful ſlave named Enipo, declared that the fame of Archilochus, the glorious fruit of this diſhonorable connexion, ſhould deſcend to the lateſt ages of the world.

The prophecy would naturally contribute to its own accompliſhment; eſpecially as Archilochus deſcended from a family, in which the love of poetry was an hereditary paſſion. Tellis, his grandfather, accompanied the prieſteſs of Ceres, in order to eſtabliſh the Eleuſinian myſteries in the iſle of Thaſos, an employment, which, like the ſacred commiſſion of Teleſicles at the city of Apollo,

[16] Lib. i. cap. 12.

could not have been exerciſed by any other than a favorite of the Muſes. Enjoying the example of ſuch anceſtors, and encouraged by the admonition of the god, it was to be expected that the young poet ſhould ſecond the gifts of nature by the efforts of induſtry; and that his juvenile productions ſhould ſoon have been diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of his contemporaries, by dignity of ſentiment, force of expreſſion, and beauty of imagery. CHAP. VI.

In that martial age, no ſuperiority of genius, rank, or fortune could exempt its poſſeſſor from the duty of ſerving his country in the exerciſe of arms [17]. The Parian colony in Thaſos, having ineffectually endeavoured by its own ſtrength to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Thrace, was obliged, in order to accompliſh this deſign, to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the parent iſle. Archilochus ſerved in this expedition, which, though finally ſucceſsful, was chequered with a great variety of fortune. During an engagement with the barbarous Thracians, in which his countrymen were defeated and put to flight, he ſaved his life by throwing away his ſhield; an action ſo extremely inconſiſtent with the military prejudices of the age, that all his eloquence and ingenuity were incapable of extenuating its infamy.

On his return home, he renewed his addreſſes to a Parian damſel named Neobulé. Her father

[17] This was not the caſe in the heroic ages; the bards, though called Ἥρωες, as being of the firſt rank in ſociety, were exempted from the fatigues of war. Hom. Odyſſ. paſſim.

CHAP. VI. Lycambes, who had at first granted, afterwards refused his consent, whether disgusted by the unwarlike and therefore contemptible character of Archilochus, or tempted by the alluring offers of a richer rival. If we believe the poet, it was avarice alone that corrupted the sordid mind of Lycambes; and both he and his daughter, regardless of their plighted faith and repeated oaths, sacrificed their sentiments and character to the mean gratification of this ignoble passion.

This assertion he maintained by his poetical invectives, full of indignation and resentment against the whole family of the supposed traitors. His verses were rehearsed at the public games, where the force and vivacity of the satire were universally admired. Calumny, however seems to have joined her poisoned darts to the more fair and equitable weapons employed by the anger of disappointed love. Neobulé and her sisters were accused of every vice most inconsistent with the modest dignity of the female character. Yet such an accusation is extremely improbable, considering the reserved circumspection of Neobulé herself, during the ardent solicitations of Archilochus; a behaviour which naturally increased the fire of his passion, and sharpened the edge of his satire.

His reproach and calumny, however ill-grounded and unreasonable, gained an easy credit among the rivals and enemies of Lycambes; and the bitter taunts and invectives, which the malice of the poet had invented, the scornful contempt of the Parians too faithfully retained. An old poem was

no ſooner in danger of being forgotten, than it was ſucceeded by new verſes, couched in the livelieſt turns of ingenious ſatire. The perpetual ſtrokes of malevolence, darted againſt the family of Lycambes by the perſevering cruelty of the poet, rendered their characters ſuſpicious to the public, and their lives painful to themſelves. They determined to withdraw from a ſcene, which ſeemed a conſtant variation of miſery; and died in deſpair by their own hands.

The poems which produced this melancholy effect, and of which ſome ſcattered remains have reached the preſent times, were written in iambic [18] verſe of ſix and four feet. When the lines were of the ſame length throughout, the piece was entitled an iambic; but when ſhort and long verſes alternately ſucceeded each other, it was called, from this circumſtance, an epode [19]; a name which Horace has given to thoſe performances in which he imitated the poetry and ſpirit of Archilochus, not copying, with ſervility, his ſentiments and expreſſion [20].

[18] The term iambic is ſynonymous in Greek with the words reproachful, ſatirical. Ariſt. Poet.

[19] This word, concerning the meaning of which there have been innumerable diſputes, ſimply denotes the ſucceſſion of verſes or ſtanzas of different length or ſtructure. In the firſt ſenſe it is explained in the text; in the ſecond it will be explained in ſpeaking of the ode, of which the epode regularly formed the third ſtanza, as we learn from Hepheſtion, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and other ancient grammarians and philologiſts.

[20] Parios ego primus iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi, non res, et agentia verba Lycamben.
Epiſt. lib. i. 19.

CHAP. VI.

Though iambic was the favorite [21] purſuit of Archilochus, his genius was not entirely confined to that ſpecies of writing. Endowed with an extreme ſenſibility of heart, he was inclined to gratitude and friendſhip, as well as to enmity and reſentment. Animated by the former ſentiments, he lamented the death of a kinſman and friend, who had unfortunately periſhed by ſhipwreck. The piece conſiſted of alternate hexameter and pentameter verſes, and abounded in elegiac ſtrains, which were admired by the greateſt critics of antiquity. The ſublime Longinus, in particular, extols the affecting deſcription of the ſhipwreck; and Plutarch [22] has preſerved the concluſion of the piece, in which the poet having aſſerted the hurtfulneſs of ſorrow to the living, and its inutility to the dead, determines thenceforth to abſtain from unavailing lamentations, and to ſeek relief for his affliction in wine, love, and other ſenſual pleaſures.

His malignity.

Theſe ſentiments of Archilochus ſeem to prove, that whatever may have been the poetical merit of his elegy, the tender paſſions were leſs fitted than the iraſcible, to make a durable impreſſion on his heart. He ſoon forſook the elegiac muſe; and his natural diſpoſition, as well as the fame which he had already acquired by his ſatires, led him to purſue that ſpecies of writing with unabating ardor. The perpetual rivalſhips and competitions among the principal Parian citizens, who aſpired

[21] Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

[22] De audiend. Poet.

at the first offices of government, frequently degenerating into hatred, malice, and revenge, they observed, with infinite delight, the aspersions, however foul and false, that were cast on their opponents. The malignity of the public thus nourished and exasperated the venom of the poet; but there was a degree of virulence beyond which it could not proceed. After making the circle of the whole society, and equally offending friends and foes by his excessive and indiscriminate reproach, Archilochus came to be regarded as a public enemy. The licentious impunity of his manners, which bid defiance to every law of decency and of nature, heightened the detestation of his character, and he was compelled to fly in disgrace from his native island, to which his genius would have been an ornament, had his behaviour been more modest and inoffensive [21].

CHAP. VI.

Banishment.

Banished from the isle of Paros, the poet sought protection in the Thasian colony, to the establishment of which the services of his father had so eminently contributed; but, unfortunately for his repose, the fame of his satires had gone before him, and the disgrace of having lost his shield in the Thracian expedition was a stain not easily wiped off. His reception among the Thasians, therefore, answered neither his own expectations, nor the liberal spirit of ancient hospitality. He soon quitted a place in which his company was so little acceptable, yet not before he had

Wanderings.

[21] Critias apud Ælian. Hist. l. ix. c. xiii.

CHAP. VI.

lampooned the principal citizens of Thaſos, and endeavoured, by a ſingular and abſurd exceſs of reſentment, to ſatirize the narrowneſs and ſterility of the iſland itſelf.

Recovers the public eſteem at Olympia.

The wandering poet was not more fortunate in ſeveral other diſtricts of Greece in which he took refuge. The warlike Spartans would ſcarcely admit into their city, a writer who had ſaid that it was better for a ſoldier to loſe his ſhield than his life, becauſe he might purchaſe new armor, but could not acquire a new exiſtence. Archilochus, thus abandoned, perſecuted, and contemned, made one ſpirited effort for recovering his ancient character, and regaining the public eſteem. The time approached for celebrating the Olympic feſtival. The irregularity of his manners, the general deteſtation of his behaviour, and, above all, his vindication of cowardice, would, according to general rules, have excluded him from aſſiſting at that ſolemnity: but having removed the prejudices which the citizens of Elis had naturally conceived againſt him, by diſplaying his wonderful talents for muſic and poetry, he took care to inſinuate that he was poſſeſſed of an ode in praiſe of Hercules, which, if rehearſed before the public aſſembly, would equally entertain the fancy, and improve the piety of the ſpectators. The intereſt of religion being materially concerned in this propoſal, the judges of the games thought proper to comply with it. Archilochus appeared on the appointed day among the Olympic bards. After his competitors had given ſpecimens of their

art in such musical compositions as the audience were accustomed to hear, he began the song in honor of Hercules, accompanied with the sound of his lyre, and written with such new variations of verse, as necessarily occasioned new modulations of melody. It is probable that, on this occasion, he first practised the invention ascribed to him by Plutarch [34], of passing, with a rapidity, from one rhythm, or measure, to another of a different kind. The novelty, the beauty, and the grandeur of his composition ravished the senses, and elevated the souls of his hearers. The demerit of the performer was obliterated in the perfection of his song. The unanimous applause of the assembly declared his superiority to every rival, and he was immediately rewarded by the prize, and adorned with the crown, of victory [35].

CHAP. VI.

Returns to his native island.

Having acquired such distinguished renown in the public theatre of assembled states, Archilochus returned, with exultation, to his native country, the glory of which had been proclaimed at Olympia, in consequence of the successful merit of a banished citizen. This proclamation being deemed the highest honor which an individual could procure for his community, the hatred and resentment formerly entertained against the poet was converted into gratitude and admiration. The

[34] De Music.

[35] We learn from Pindar and his scholiast, Ode Olymp. ix. that this celebrated poem of Archilochus long continued to be sung at the Olympic games, in order to grace the coronation of those victors who either could not afford, or who did not incline, to purchase an ode in their particular honor.

CHAP. VI.

renewed reſpect of his country occaſioned many ebullitions of poetical vanity, which evaporated in ſome verſes that have reached the preſent times [26]. When death put an end to his labors, it could not extinguiſh his fame. His obſequies were diſtinguiſhed by every ſad circumſtance of funeral pomp; and his memory was celebrated by a feſtival, eſtabliſhed by the gratitude of his countrymen, and adopted by the general admiration of the Greeks, during which the verſes of Archilochus were ſung alternately with the poems of Homer [27]: and thus, by a fatality frequently attending men of genius, he ſpent a life of miſery, and acquired honor after death. Reproach, ignominy, contempt, poverty, and perſecution were the ordinary companions of his perſon; admiration, glory, reſpect, ſplendor, and magnificence were the melancholy attendants of his ſhade.

His ſingular honors.

Archilochus was the principal improver, not only of the iambic, but of the graver kind of lyric poetry; and Terpander, who flouriſhed in the ſame age, was, as far as we can trace the hiſtory of the arts, the chief promoter of the gay and feſtive kinds of lyric compoſition. This agreeable poet was a native of Leſbos. He obtained the muſical prize in the Carnean feſtival at Sparta; and in the beginning of the ſeventh century before Chriſt, gained four ſucceſſive prizes at Delphi, as appeared by a correct regiſter of the conquerors in

Hiſtory of the lyric poets. Terpander.

[26] Athenæus, l. xiv. Pauſanias, l. x. Stobæus, ſerm. 123.
[27] Anthol. p. 212. Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. ii.

the Pythian games, preſerved in the time of Plutarch [28]. Theſe advantages procured him the reſpect of his contemporaries; but he was honored by poſterity chiefly for his improvement of the lyre, and for the new varieties of meaſure which he introduced into the Grecian poetry [29].

The example of Archilochus and Terpander [30] was followed by the nine Lyric poets, who, in the courſe of two centuries, flouriſhed almoſt in regular ſucceſſion, and maintained the poetic fame of their country. Of the two moſt ancient, Alcman and Steſichorus, we have only a few imperfect remains: of Sappho there are two complete odes; her followers Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, and Bacchilides are known by a few mutilated fragments, and by the remarks of ancient critics; but we ſtill poſſeſs many inimitable odes of Pindar, and many pleaſant ſongs of Anacreon.

Sappho, Alcæus, etc.

As to the Grecian lyriſts in general, it is worthy of obſervation, that except Alcman of Sardis, who on account of his merit was naturalized at Sparta, Pindar of Thebes in Bœotia, and Steſichorus of Himera in Sicily, all the reſt were born on the Aſiatic coaſt, or in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Theſe enchanting climates were the beſt adapted to inſpire the raptures peculiar to the ode,

[28] De Muſic. [29] Euclid. Harmon. Strabo, l. xiii.

[30] Πινδαρος φησιν ὁτι των σκολιων μελων Τερπανδρος ευρετης εστι. Plut. de Muſic. "Pindar ſays, that Terpander invented the Scho-"lia," which, according to Pollux and Heſychius, properly denote the drinking ſongs of the Greeks; but, in a more general ſenſe, ſignify every kind of lyric poetry not aſpiring to the dignity of the ode.

CHAP. VI. as well as to excite that voluptuous gaiety characteristic of the Grecian song [31]. Amidst the romantic scenes of Ionia, was felt with uncommon sensibility the force of that pleasing painful passion, which, uniting grief, joy, and enthusiasm, contains the fruitful seeds of whatever is most perfect in music and poetry [32]. Here the celebrated Sappho breathed the amorous flames by which she was consumed; while her countryman and lover Alcæus declared the warmth of his attachment, excited less perhaps by the beauty of her person, than by the bewitching charms of her voice. But neither Alcæus, who flourished in the beginning of the sixth, nor Anacreon, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century before Christ, allowed the natural vivacity of their tempers to be overcome by the severities of a passion which they considered chiefly as an instrument of pleasure. When unfortunate in love, they had recourse to wine; and their lively invitations to this enjoyment composed the favorite *airs* of antiquity [33]. Of Alcæus it is usual to judge by the scattered remains of his works preserved in Plutarch [34] and Athenæus [35], and by the high commendations bestowed on him by Horace and Quintilian. The Latin poet, however, seems on many occasions to have

[31] Hippocrat. de Locis, vol. ii. p. 346. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

[32] Agreeably to the principles established by Theophrastus in Plutarch. Symposium.

[33] Give us a song of Alcæus or Anacreon, was a common saying in the age of Socrates. Athenæus, l. x. c. viii.

[34] Sympos. c. vi. [35] Lib. x.

so exactly imitated, or rather translated the Greek, that the copy will perhaps best enable us to form a complete idea of the original [36]. CHAP. VI.

Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged in the gay and sportive strains of poetry, was yet qualified to undertake more lofty [37] themes; but the whole soul of Anacreon was of that effeminate texture which fitted him only to sing of love and pleasure [38]. Venus, Bacchus, Cupid, and the Graces were the peculiar divinities whom he adored; and the presents which he offered at their shrine were the most acceptable that any mortal could bestow. He not only observed the external rites and ceremonies which they commanded, but proved that his heart and mind had imbibed the genuine spirit of their worship. Throughout the whole of his works now remaining [39], there reign the most inimitable simplicity, purity, and sweetness of diction: his Anacreon.

[36] Μηδεν αλλο Φυτευσης προτερον δενδρον αμπελω. ALC.
Nullam, Vare, sacra vite, prius severis arborem.
Other translations, equally literal, may be discovered by carefully examining the fragments in Athenæus, l. x.

[37] In lusus et amores descendit, majoribus tamen aptior. QUIN. l. x. c. i.

[38] Ἁ Καρδιτος δι χορδαις
Ερωτα μινον ηχει — ANAC. Od. i.

[39] The works of Anacreon are said, by Petrus Alcyonius de exilio, to have been burned by the Greek priests of Constantinople, from which some learned men, destitute of taste, have absurdly concluded, that the works ascribed to the old poet are spurious. It cannot, surely, be said of those poems, "Etsi excitant animos nostrorum hominum ad flagrantiorem religionis cultum, non tamen "verborum Atticorum proprietatem et linguæ Græcæ elegantiam "docent;" which is the character that Petrus Alcyonius gives of the compositions substituted by the priests in their place.

CHAP. VI.

verſes flow with a ſmooth volubility; his images, ſentiments, and reaſonings (if what in him ſeems intuitive conviction can be called reaſonings) are copied from the warmeſt impreſſions of nature. Yet in theſe poems, otherwiſe ſo beautiful and ſo perfect, there may be diſcovered an extreme licentiouſneſs of manners, and a ſingular voluptuouſneſs of fancy, extending beyond the ſenſes, and tainting the ſoul itſelf.

Steſichorus.

The diſſolute gaiety of Anacreon, the delicate ſenſibility of Sappho, and the tearful complaints of Simonides [40], were all expreſſed in that eaſy equable flow of uninterrupted harmony, which, in the opinion of the moſt learned of their countrymen [41], poſſeſſes more grace than ſtrength, and more beauty than grandeur. The majeſtic muſe of Steſichorus ſoared a loftier pitch. Diſdaining the ſubjects to which the other lyriſts deſcended, he ſung of war and heroes, and ſupported, by his harp, the whole weight and dignity of epic poetry [42]. Such, at leaſt, are the ſentiments of a celebrated critic, who had read his works, of which we are at preſent entitled to judge only by their reſemblance to thoſe of Pindar, who poſſeſſed a ſimilar turn of genius, and treated the ſame lofty themes.

Pindar.

The honors beſtowed on Pindar by his contemporaries, as well as the admiration in which his name was uniformly held by the moſt improved

[40] Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. Catull.

[41] Dionyſius Halicarn.

[42] Epici carminis onera lyrâ ſuſtinentem. Quint.

nations

nations of antiquity, render both his perſon and his works objects of a very natural curioſity. He was born five hundred and twenty years before Chriſt, and his long life almoſt completed the full revolution of a century. His age, therefore, extended beyond the period of hiſtory now under our review; yet the works of his predeceſſors having periſhed by the ravages of time and barbariſm, it is neceſſary to examine, in this place, the nature and character of the writings of Pindar, as the only materials remaining that can enable us to form a general notion of the performances recited by the lyric poets at the principal Grecian ſolemnities. Pindar, from his earlieſt years, was carefully trained by his father (himſelf a muſician) to the ſtudies of muſic and poetry. His genius naturally wild and luxuriant, was corrected by the leſſons of his fair country-women, Myrtis and Corinna[43], whoſe poetical productions had acquired unrivalled fame, not only in Thebes, but among all the neighbouring cities[44]. His firſt efforts for equalling their renown were diſplayed at the muſical conteſts celebrated in his native country; where, after conquering Myrtis, he was five times overcome by Corinna, who, could we believe the voice of ſcandal, owed her repeated victories more to the charms of her beauty than to the ſuperiority of her genius[45]. But in the four public aſſemblies of Greece, where females were not admitted to con-

the admiration in which he was held.

[43] Pauſanias. l. ix. c. xxii.
[44] Lucian. Ælian. Var. Hiſt.
[45] Pauſan. ibid.

CHAP. VI.

tend, Pindar carried off the prize from every competitor. The glory, in particular, which his poetry both acquired and beſtowed at Olympia, made the greateſt generals and ſtateſmen of the age court the friendſhip of his muſe. To the temples of the gods, and eſpecially to the celebrated temple of Delphi, his hymns and pœans drew an extraordinary concourſe of Greeks and ſtrangers. The prieſts, prophets, and other miniſters of Apollo, ſenſible of the benefits which they derived from his muſical fame, repaid the merit of his ſervices by erecting his ſtatue in the moſt conſpicuous part of the temple, and declared by their organ the Pythia, that Pindar ſhould be honored with one half of the firſt-fruit-offerings annually preſented by the devout retainers of the Delphian ſhrine [46]. Pindar was thus, during his lifetime, aſſociated to the honors of the gods; and after his death, his memory was adorned by every mark of reſpect that public admiration can beſtow. The beauty of the monument, erected to him by his fellow-citizens in the Hippodrome of Thebes, was admired after the revolution of ſix centuries [47]. At the Theoxenian feſtival, a portion of the ſacred victim was appropriated, even as late as the time of Plutarch, to the deſcendants of the poet. The inveterate hoſtility of the Spartans, when they deſtroyed the capital of their ancient and cruelleſt enemies, ſpared the houſe of Pindar, which was equally reſpected in a future age by the warlike and

[46] Pauſan. Phocic. [47] Pauſan. Bœotic.

impetuous ſon of Philip, and the giddy triumph of his Macedonian captains [48].

CHAP. VI.

Diviſion and nature of his works.

Pindar, we are told, acquired unrivalled fame by his hymns to Jupiter, his pœans to Apollo, and his dithyrambics to Bacchus. But as all theſe works have periſhed, as well as his love verſes, his elegies, and his Parthenia [49], we are unfortunately obliged to confine our obſervations to the odes, which were rehearſed at the ſacred games, in praiſe of the conquerors in the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian conteſts. Theſe conquerors being perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Greece, the poet takes occaſion to celebrate the ſplendor of their paſt lives, the dignity of their character, the fame of their anceſtors, and the glory of their ſeveral republics. The tutelary deities, to whom they owed their felicity, are not forgotten; and hence, by an eaſy tranſition, the poet paſſes to the worſhip of the god in whoſe honor the games were eſtabliſhed; to the adoration of the heroes who had appointed them; and to innumerable other epiſodes, which are often more intereſting and more beautiful than the original ſubject.

Such, moſt commonly, are the materials of the ode; and its form uſually conſiſted of three ſtanzas, of which the two firſt were of an equal length, and either of them longer than the third. This arrangement was introduced as moſt ſuitable to the occaſion of the poem, as well as to the ſcene on

[48] Polyb. Hiſtor.

[49] Sung, as the word denotes, by a chorus of virgins.

CHAP. VI. which it was rehearſed. The occaſion was the ſolemn ſacrifice, accompanied by a public entertainment given to the ſpectators by the friends of the ſucceſsful candidate for Olympic fame. Grateful acknowledgments to the gods formed a principal part of the ceremony, which could not, without impiety, be omitted by the victor, who had obtained ſo honorable a prize through the aſſiſtance of his protecting divinity. On the altar of this divinity the ſacrifice was performed; and in his temple was ſung the panegyrical poem, containing the united praiſes of the beneficent god, and of his favored votary. The chorus waited, as uſual, to begin the ſong, till preparations were made for the feaſt. They repeated the firſt ſtanza, properly called ſtrophé, while they gratefully danced, towards the right, round the well-repleniſhed altar; returning, in an oppoſite direction, to the place from which they ſet out, they recited the ſecond ſtanza, therefore called antiſtrophé; then ſtanding motionleſs before the altar, and, as it were, in the immediate preſence of the divinity, with whoſe ſtatue it was adorned, they ſung the concluding ſtanza, with a richer exuberance, and more complicated variations, of melody [50]. The ode, therefore, was diſtinguiſhed from other pieces of poetry, not by being ſet to muſic [51] (for this was common to them all), but by being ſung by a

[50] Marius Victorinus de Gram. and the Scholia on Hephæſtion.

[51] This error runs through the whole of the otherwiſe very ſenſible diſcourſe of Mr. Chabanon on lyric poetry, in the Mémoires de l'Academie.

chorus, who accompanied the various inflections of the voice with ſuitable attitudes and movements of the body. CHAP. VI.

His characteriſtic excellence.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks thus united the pleaſures of the ear, of the eye, and of the underſtanding. In the various nature of the entertainment conſiſted its eſſential merit and perfection; and he only could be entitled the prince of lyric poets, whoſe verſes happily conſpired with the general tendence of this complicated exhibition. By the univerſal conſent of antiquity, this poet is Pindar, whom, ever ſince the eulogium of Horace, critics have extolled for the brilliancy of his imagination, the figurative boldneſs of his diction, the fire, animation, and enthuſiaſm of his genius. The panegyrics, beſtowed on him, have generally more of the wildneſs of the ode, than of the coolneſs of criticiſm; ſo that the peculiar nature of his excellences may ſtill deſerve to be explained. It will be allowed by every one who reads his works with attention, that, great as his ideas are, Pindar is leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſublimity of his thoughts and ſentiments, than by the grandeur of his language and expreſſion; and that his *inimitable* [52] excellence conſiſts in the energy, propriety, and magnificence of his ſtyle, ſo ſingularly fitted to aſſociate with the lengthened tones of muſic, and the figured movements of the dance. The uniform cadence, the ſmooth volubility, and the light unimportance of ordinary compoſition, are

[52] Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet *emulari*, etc.

CHAP. VI.

extremely ill adapted to this aſſociation, which bringing every ſingle word into notice, and ſubjecting it to obſervation and remark, muſt expoſe its natural meanneſs, inſignificance, and poverty. But as much as the language of ordinary writers would loſe, that of Pindar would gain, by ſuch an examination. His words and phraſes are choſen with an habitual care, and poſſeſs a certain weight and dignity, which, the more they are contemplated, muſt be the more admired. It is this magnificence of diction, thoſe compound epithets, and thoſe glowing expreſſions (which the coldneſs of criticiſm has ſometimes condemned as extravagant) that form the tranſcendent merit of the Pindaric ſtyle, and diſtinguiſh it even more than the general flow of the verſification, which is commonly ſo natural, free, and unreſtrained, that it bears leſs reſemblance to poetry, than to a beautiful and harmonious proſe. It is not meant, however, that this great poet paid more attention to the choice, than to the arrangement, of words. The majeſty of the *compoſition* equalled, and in the opinion of a great critic, even ſurpaſſed the value of the materials. Dionyſius, the critic to whom I allude, has explained by what admirable refinements of art, Pindar gave to his words a certain firmneſs and ſolidity of conſiſtence, ſeparated them at wide intervals, placed them on a broad baſe, and raiſed them to a lofty eminence, from which they darted thoſe irradiations of ſplendor, that aſtoniſhed the moſt diſtant beholders.

But the moſt exalted fame cannot extend with equal facility to diſtance of time and diſtance of place. The poems of Pindar are now deprived of their accompaniments of muſic and dancing, by which they were formerly ennobled and adorned. They are now read in the retirement of the cloſet, without perſonal intereſt and without patriotic emotion. They were anciently ſung to large aſſemblies of men, who believed the religion which they deſcribed, knew the characters whom they celebrated, and felt the influence of that piety and patriotiſm which they were admirably calculated to uphold. Such paſſages as may appear moſt exceptionable in the cool moments of ſolitary ſtudy, would obtain the higheſt applauſe amidſt the joyous animation of ſocial triumph, when men are naturally diſpoſed to admire every happy boldneſs of expreſſion, and to behold, with unuſual rapture, thoſe lofty and dangerous flights which elevate the daring muſe of Pindar.

Phyſical effects of the public games.

In examining the effect of the games, as inſtitutions for bodily exerciſe and mental improvement, it is neceſſary to reflect, not only on the univerſality of their eſtabliſhment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Beſides the public ſolemnities already deſcribed, innumerable provincial feſtivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in ſuch amuſements; and if we may be allowed to conjecture, that thoſe communities which inſtituted moſt feſtivals, would moſt excel in the arts and exerciſes diſplayed in them,

CHAP. VI.

we may conclude, from the national designations of the Olympic victors preserved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian festivals was rivalled by that of several other states.

For these warlike and elegant amusements, the youth were carefully trained by the discipline of the gymnasia, in which they learned whatever can give strength and agility to the limbs, ease and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily strength and agility were accompanied by health and vigor of constitution. Their athletic hardiness bore, without inconvenience, the vicissitudes of cold and heat. Even in the scorching warmth [13] of July (for that was the season of the Olympic games), they received, bareheaded, the direct rays of the sun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exercise, counteracted that fatal propensity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced those inimitable models of strength and beauty, which are so deservedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian statuary.

They produced courage.

These corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellences to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depending on nerves and blood, which was improved to the highest pitch among the Greeks. They delight, says Lucian [14], to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are still more animated. In the memorable war with Persia,

[13] Lucian, Solon. [14] In Solon.

they ſhowed the ſuperiority of their national cou- CHAP. VI.
rage; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the moſt ſignal exploits were performed in the field of battle by thoſe who had been previouſly adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boaſt, that one Grecian could conquer ten Perſians[55]; and the ſuggeſtions of reaſon tend to confirm the evidence of hiſtory. In the battles of the Greeks and Perſians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions of diſtant hoſtility. The conteſt was decided by the point of the ſword and ſpear. The uſe of theſe weapons requires activity of the limbs, ſteadineſs of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. It improves the courage as well as the vigor of the ſoldier; and both qualities were admirably promoted by the habitual exerciſes of the gymnaſia, which inſpired not only the ſpirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the moſt dangerous and difficult enterpriſes.

The gymnaſtic arts encouraged other excel- and temperance.
lences ſtill more important than bodily accompliſhments and courage. Chiefly by *their* influence, the love of pleaſure and the love of action, the two moſt powerful principles in the human breaſt, were directed to purpoſes not only innocent but uſeful. The deſire of an Olympic crown reſtrained alike thoſe weakneſſes which form the diſgrace, and thoſe vices which form the guilt and miſery of undiſciplined minds; and an object of earthly and periſhable ambition led to the ſame external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the

[55] Herodot. I. viii.

CHAP. VI.

precepts, and enforced by the ſanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compoſe not the *only* reſemblance between the Chriſtian and the Olympic victors. Theſe viſible images have been borrowed indeed by the ſacred writers, to aſſiſt our imperfect conception of divine truths [56]; but they have been borrowed from an inſtitution which reſembles Chriſtianity, not in the honors and rewards which it propoſed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honeſt fame [57] taught men to control the appetites of the body by the affections of the ſoul; the ſprings of emulation repreſſed the allurements of ſenſuality; one dangerous paſſion combated another ſtill more dangerous; and a train of uſeful prejudices ſupported the cauſe, and maintained the aſcendant of virtue.

Contempt for the modern notions concerning the point of honor.

Many of the peculiarities which diſtinguiſh the Greeks from the maſs of ancient and modern nations, ſeem to have derived their origin from the ſame uſeful inſtitutions; particularly the cuſtom of going unarmed, and their perpetual contempt for the capricious notions concerning the point of honor. Theſe unpoliſhed republicans were accuſtomed, in the private gymnaſias, as well as at the public entertainments, to inflict and to ſuffer the moſt provoking indignities. A barbarous Scythian, who witneſſed a ſpectacle that ſeemed

[56] 1 Corinth. 9th chapter, four laſt verſes.

[57] Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, ſudavit et alſit,
Abſtinuit venere et vino.

to him as ſhocking and intolerable as it would appear to a punctilious modern gentleman, declared to his Athenian conductor, that if any perſon ſhould offer the ſame inſults to him, which the Athenian youths were continually offering to each other, he would ſoon convince the aſſembly, that his ſword was not an empty ornament of his perſon, but an uſeful guardian of his honor[53]. Such were the ſentiments of the Scythian; and hiſtory proves, that ſuch are the ſentiments of all uncultivated minds. An untutored barbarian ſets no bounds to his reſentment. The ſmalleſt injury renders his anger implacable; his indignation againſt the offender is proportioned, not to the nature of *his* offence, but to his own pride, which is boundleſs. The ſlighteſt fault requires the ſevereſt atonement; and not only a blow, but a word, or a look, may inflict a ſtain on the delicacy of his ſuppoſed honor, which can only be waſhed out by the blood of the aggreſſor. The exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper, before they were corrected by the refinements of Grecian philoſophy, were repreſſed by the habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes. In the ſchools appropriated to the advancement of theſe manly arts, the Greeks learned the valuable leſſon of repelling injuries by others of a ſimilar kind, of proportioning the puniſhment to the offence, and of thus preventing a ſlight occaſion of animoſity from degenerating into a ſolid ground of revenge. If any

CHAP. VI.

[53] Lucian. Anacharſis.

CHAP. VI.

citizen of thoſe warlike republics had worn armor in time of peace, he muſt have been regarded either as a madman or as an aſſaſſin; for to the chaſtiſed principles of Grecian diſcipline, it would have appeared altogether abſurd that the ſword or dagger ſhould be thought neceſſary to retaliate the reproaches of the tongue, or even the more daring inſults of the arm.

Emulation and rewards of the victors.

The entertainments of the public feſtivals thus tended to eradicate the wild exceſſes of reſentment, and to improve the mild and gentle virtues; but conſidered in another view, the ſame entertainments were calculated to promote ardor, emulation, friendſhip, patriotiſm, and all the animated principles and contentions of active life. The rewards beſtowed on the conquerors were the moſt flattering which in that age could be propoſed. Odes were ſung in their praiſe; ſtatues were erected to them on the ſcene of victory; the names of their parents and country were jointly celebrated with their own; they were entitled to the firſt ſeats at all public entertainments; maintained at the expenſe of their reſpective communities; and in their native cities, rewarded not only with monuments and inſcriptions, but ſometimes with altars and temples. Of theſe honors and rewards, the appropriated ſymbols were the olive, the pine, the parſley, and the laurel crowns; which were reſpectively diſtributed at the ſeveral ſolemnities of Olympia, the Iſthmus, Nemea, and Delphi. Obſerving the ſmall value of theſe badges of diſtinction, without adverting to the ſolid benefits

which they conferred, the Perſian Tigranes would have diſſuaded his maſter from going to war with a people, who, inſenſible to intereſt, fought only for glory [58]. But had Tigranes been more completely informed concerning the inſtitutions of Greece, he would have underſtood, that both intereſt and glory operated moſt powerfully upon the candidates for Olympic fame, and not only their perſonal intereſts, but thoſe of their friends, their parents, and their country, who, being aſſociated to their honors, were regarded by them with that love and affection which men naturally feel for the objects of their protection and bounty.

Influence of the muſical and poetical conteſts.

In explaining the influence of the Grecian ſolemnities, we muſt not forget the muſical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, came to be themſelves thought worthy of reward. The martial leſſons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conſpired with the effects which have already been deſcribed, encouraging the firm and manly virtues both by the enthuſiaſm with which their precepts were conveyed, and by the lively impreſſions which they gave of thoſe objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and tranſitory in its exiſtence; and even while it exiſts, may be indifferently employed to purpoſes beneficial or deſtructive. It belonged to the martial

[58] The word is αρετης in the original; but here means the reward of virtue. Vid. Herodot. l. viii. c. 26.

CHAP. VI.

bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illuſtrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its purſuit.

They infuſed a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character.

The muſical entertainments thus ſtrengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inſpired by all the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every ſoil, the moſt beneficial conſequence of the arts conſiſted in infuſing a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flouriſh [w]. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner, required their aſſiſtance; nor could it have been poſſible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to control the barbarity naturally occaſioned by their conſtant employment in war, the ſavage cruelty introduced by the practice of domeſtic ſervitude, and that unrelenting ferocity of character which ſeems eſſentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidſt theſe ſources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application neceſſary to attain proficiency in the purſuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amuſements and innocent pleaſures. The honors and rewards beſtowed on the ſucceſsful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to ſeek happineſs and glory in the peaceful ſhade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the obſervations and diſcoveries occaſionally

Their effects on moral principle,

[w] Ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.

ſuggeſted by the free communication of ſentiment, ſtrengthened and confirmed thoſe happy prejudices which combat on the ſide of virtue, and enforce the practice of ſuch rules of behaviour as are moſt uſeful and agreeable in ſociety.

and on the intellectual powers,

If the muſical and literary entertainments acquired ſuch an happy influence over the moral diſpoſitions of the heart, they produced a ſtill more conſiderable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almoſt impoſſible, in the preſent age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination, and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progreſs of ſociety preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own iſland, the Druids could repeat an incredible number of verſes, containing the knowledge of their hiſtory, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical ſtudies of a candidate for the prieſthood [61].

prepared the Greeks for their high attainments in eloquence and philoſophy.

But if the Greeks were equalled by other nations in the exerciſe of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taſte, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. Theſe excellences, whether originally produced by natural or moral cauſes, or more probably by a combination

[61] Cæſar, de bello Gallico, l. vi.

CHAP. VI. of both, were, doubtleſs, extended and improved by emulation and habitual exerciſe. To this exerciſe the public ſolemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the conteſts of muſic and poetry, were diſplayed the opening bloſſoms of Grecian genius, bloſſoms which afterwards ripened into thoſe fruits of philoſophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the laſt ages of the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

State of the Grecian Colonies. — The Ionians flourish in Arts and Arms. — Their Wars with the Lydians. — The Aſiatic Greeks ſubdued by Cræſus. — Splendor of the Lydian Court. — Foundation of the Perſian Monarchy. — Cauſes of its rapid Grandeur. — Which alarms Cræſus. — His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians. — He invades the Perſian Dominions. — Meaſures of his Allies. — Cræſus defeated by Cyrus. — End of the Lydian Monarchy.

CHAP. VII. State of the Greek colonies in Europe and Aſia. Olymp. xx. 1. A. C. 700.

ABOVE two thouſand years have elapſed ſince it was obſerved, to the honor of Europe, that a handful of Greeks, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia and Africa, continually maintained and extended their poſſeſſions in thoſe quarters of the world [1]. Wherever the ſpirit of enterpriſe diffuſed their ſettlements, they perceived, it is ſaid, on the ſlighteſt compariſon, the ſuperiority of their own religion, language, inſtitutions, and manners; and the dignity of their character and ſentiments eminently diſtinguiſhed them from the general maſs of nations whoſe territories they invaded, and whom they juſtly denominated Barbarians [2]. Yet

[1] Hippocrat. vol. i. p. 350. Edit. Lugdun. 1763.
[2] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

CHAP. VII.

these honorable advantages, instead of conciliating good-will, tended only to exasperate hostility. The northern Greeks were perpetually harassed by the fierce inroads of the Thracians: the southern were endangered by the united strength of Egypt and Lybia. The colonies in Magna Græcia, having easily resisted the rude, though warlike natives of that country, were called to contend with the more formidable power of Carthage. But the consequences of all these wars, which shall be described in due time, extended not beyond the countries in which they first arose. The memorable conflict between the Greek colonies in the East, and the great nations of Asia, forms a subject more vast and more interesting. Not confined to the extremities, it reached and shook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more destructive violence on Persia; its duration comprehends the most illustrious period in the history of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the scattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world.

State of the Greek colonies in Asia.

In the third century after their establishment in the east, and above seven hundred years before the Christian æra, the Greeks of Asia, and particularly the Ionians, far surpassed their European ancestors in splendor and prosperity [3]. While ancient Greece was harassed by intestine dissensions, and its northern frontier exposed to the hostility of neighbouring Barbarians, the Eastern colonies

[3] Herodot. passim. Plin. l. v. et Senec. ad Helv.

CHAP. VII.

enjoyed profound peace, and flouriſhed in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the beſt cultivated and moſt wealthy provinces of Lower Aſia [4], and perhaps of the ancient world. Hiſtory and poetry alike extol the golden treaſures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings [5]. Their ſubjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, died wool, cultivated muſic, enjoyed the amuſements of leiſure, and indulged the demands of luxury [6], when the neighbouring countries of Cappadocia and Armenia remained equally ignorant of laws and arts, and when the Medes and Perſians, deſtined ſucceſſively to obtain the empire of Aſia, lived in ſcattered villages, ſubſiſted by hunting, paſturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts [7].

They engroſs the commerce of Lydia, Phrygia, and Egypt.

Yet the Lydians and Phrygians, ſatisfied with their domeſtic advantages, ſeem never to have directed their attention towards foreign commerce [8]. When the voluptuouſneſs or oſtentation of their kings and nobility made them covet the

[4] Strabo, l. xii. et l. xiii.

[5] Idem, p. 620 et 621. Edit. Paris.

[6] Herodot. l. i. c. xciv. Plin. l. vi. c. lvi.

[7] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

[8] The Lydians and Phrygians are mentioned, in Caſtor's Epochs, among the ſeventeen nations, who, according to that careleſs and ignorant compiler, ſucceſſively became maſters of the Mediterranean ſea; but the extravagant dreams of this fabulous writer are at variance with the whole tenor of ancient hiſtory. It is extraordinary that thoſe who ever looked into Herodotus ſhould pay any regard to the unwarranted aſſertions of Caſtor; yet this fabuliſt has been generally followed by modern chronologers and compilers. See BLAIR'S Tables, etc.

CHAP. VII.

conveniences and luxuries of distant countries, they were contented to owe these new gratifications, first to the Phœnician merchants, and afterwards to the Greek settlements established on their coasts. Through the supine neglect of their neighbours respecting maritime affairs, the Asiatic Greeks acquired without contest, and enjoyed without molestation, besides several valuable islands, the whole western coast of the continent, extending, in a waving line, above six hundred miles in length, beautifully diversified by hill and dale, intersected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories, and adorned by the noblest prospects and finest climate in the world. The face of that delightful country will be more particularly described, when it becomes the unhappy scene of military operations. It is sufficient at present to observe, that its Ionian inhabitants, possessing the mouths of great rivers, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Asia, whose commerce they enjoyed and engrossed, attained such early and rapid proficiency in the arts of navigation and traffic, as raised the cities of Miletus [9], Colophon [10], and Phocæa [11], to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and grandeur. Their population increasing with their prosperity, they diffused new colonies every where around

[9] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 523. Comparing their ancient and actual state, the Greek proverb said, Παλαι ποτε ησαν αλκιμοι Μιλησιοι: Once, but long ago, the Milesians were powerful.

[10] Athen. l. xiv. p. 643.

[11] Strabo, p. 582 et p. 647. Herodot. l. iv. c. clii.

CHAP. VII.

them. Having obtained footing in Egypt [12], in the eighth century before Chriſt, they acquired, and thenceforth preſerved, the excluſive commerce of that ancient and powerful kingdom. Their territories, though in their greateſt breadth compreſſed between the ſea and the dominions of Lydia to the extent of ſcarce forty miles, became not only flouriſhing in peace, but formidable in war [13], and bore ſomething of a ſimilar relation to the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Lydia, and Aſſyria, which had hitherto ſwayed the politics of the ancient world, that the ſmall but induſtrious republics of Italy had to the reſt of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; or, to deſcribe their condition ſtill more exactly, that the Netherlands, three hundred years ago, had to the extenſive countries of France, England, and Germany.

Improved the arts which they had learned in thoſe countries.

Such multiplied advantages could not languiſh in the hands of men, who, as we ſhall ſoon learn from their hiſtory, had genius to conceive, and courage to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns. With the utmoſt induſtry and perſeverance they improved and ennobled the uſeful or elegant arts, which they found already practiſed among the Phrygians and Lydians. They incorporated the muſic of thoſe nations with their own. Their poetry, as above deſcribed, far excelled whatever Pagan antiquity could boaſt moſt precious [14]. They

[12] Herodot. l. ii. c. cxxxii.

[13] Idem, ibid. et Ariſtot. de Civitat. l. iv. c. iv.

[14] See Chap. vi.

C. H. A. P. VII.

rivalled the ſkill of their neighbours in moulding clay, and caſting braſs. They appear to have been the firſt people who made ſtatues of marble. The Doric and Ionic orders of architecture perpetuate, in their names, the honor of their inventors. Painting was firſt reduced to rule, and practiſed with ſucceſs among the Greeks; and we may be aſſured that, during the ſeventh century before Chriſt, the Ionians ſurpaſſed all their neighbours, and even the Phœnicians, in the arts of deſign, ſince the magnificent preſents which the far-famed oracle of Delphi received from the oſtentation or piety of the Lydian kings, were chiefly the productions of Ionian artiſts [15]. In the following century Ionia gave birth to philoſophy; and we ſhall have occaſion to explain hereafter by what means both ſcience and taſte were diffuſed from that country over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. But our preſent ſubject recals us from the hiſtory of arts to that of arms.

Invent others peculiar to themſelves.

Inſurſion of the Cimmerians.

The firſt formidable enemies with whom the Aſiatic Greeks had to contend, were the barbarous Cimmerians [16], who, being driven from the banks of the Euxine, by a Scythian horde ſtill fiercer than themſelves, overflowed, with irreſiſtible violence, the fineſt provinces of Aſia Minor. But

[15] Herodot. l. 1.

[16] Strabo, p. 292, ſays, that the Cimmerians were called Cimbri by the Romans. He ſpeaks frequently of them, particularly p. 108. 193. 292. 494. Their impetuous and deſtructive incurſions are well expreſſed by the elegiac poet Callinus, cited in Strabo, p. 648.

Νυν δ' επι Κιμμεριων ςρατος ερχεται ομβριμοεργων.

the invaſion of the Cimmerians is deſcribed as a predatory incurſion [17], not as a regular plan of enterpriſe directed to the purpoſes of conqueſt and ſettlement. The hurricane ſoon ſpent its force; the Greeks recovered from the terror inſpired by theſe deſultory ravagers, and, within a few years after their departure, the Ionian and Eolian colonies, who ſeem to have carried their ancient enmity into their new acquiſitions, totally forgot their recent and common danger, and engaged in cruel domeſtic wars.

CH. AHP. VII.

Domeſtic diſſenſions,

Theſe unnatural diſſenſions were quieted by the growing power of the Lydians, which extending itſelf on all ſides, finally reduced the greateſt part of Leſſer Aſia, a country once affording the materials of many rich and flouriſhing kingdoms, but now reduced to beggary and barbariſm under the oppreſſive yoke of Turkiſh tyranny. The territory of Lydia, which extended its name with its authority from the river Halys to the Ægean, and from the ſouthern ſhore of the Euxine to the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean, was anciently confined to that delightful diſtrict ſituate at the back of Ionia, watered on the north by the river Pactolus, famous for the golden particles [18] intermixed with its ſand, on the ſouth by Cayſter, whoſe banks, frequented by ſwans, have afforded one of the moſt beautiful compariſons in the

interrupted by the growth of the Lydian power.

[17] Ου καταστροφη εγενετο των πολιων αλλα εξ επιδρομης αρπαγη. HERODOT.

[18] They were waſhed down from Mount Tmolus, the gold of which was exhauſted in the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xiii.

CHAP. VII.

Iliad [20]. The kingdom of Lydia was anciently subject to a race of princes [21], ſtyled Atyatidæ, from the heroic Atys, the great founder of their houſe. To the family of Atys ſucceeded that of Hercules, which had obtained the government before the war of Troy, and continued to reign five hundred and five years, till their honors expired in the unhappy Candaules. The ſtory of Candaules, of his beautiful wife, and of his fortunate ſervant, has been adorned by the father of hiſtory with the inimitable charms of his Ionic fancy. The vain, credulous prince, injudiciouſly diſplaying the beauty, offended the modeſty, of his injured ſpouſe. Gyges [22], the moſt favored of her huſband's attendants, to whom his weak maſter had proſtituted the ſight of her naked charms, was involuntarily employed as the inſtrument of her reſentment. As a reward for taking away the life of Candaules, he was honored with the hand of the queen, and from the rank of captain of the guards, advanced to the throne of Lydia.

Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

Gyges makes war on the Ionians.

This revolution, which happened ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt, was felt by the neighbouring nations, who ſoon diſcovered in the

[20] Καυστριε αμφι ρεεθρα, etc. Iliad. ii. ver. 460. and Pope, ver. 540.

[21] Herodotus, l. i. throughout, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. i. c. 27. et ſeq. furniſh the principal materials for the hiſtory of Lydia.

[22] Herodotus was unacquainted with the wonderful ſtory of Gyges's ring, which had the power of rendering him inviſible; by means of which he was enabled to kill his maſter, and uſurp his throne. Plato, l. ii. de Repub.

CHAP. VII.

enterprising character of Gyges, the difference between adventurers who acquire, and princes who inherit, a crown. The Ionian cities of Asia offered a tempting prize to the valor of Gyges, and the valuable mines[20] discovered between the cities Atarneus and Pergamos, as well as the gold obtained from the river Pactolus[21], enabled him to hire such a number of troops as seemed necessary to accomplish his ambitious designs. The citizens of Miletus and Smyrna were harassed by a long war; but of all the Ionic settlements, Colophon alone submitted to his arms.

Takes Colophon. Olymp. xxv. 1. A. C. 680.

Ardys his successor, following the military example of Gyges, stormed the city of Priene, and invaded the territories of the Milesians. He transmitted his enmity against that people to his son Sadyattes, from whom it descended to his more warlike grandson. Alyattes, grandson of Ardys, annually invaded the country of Miletus, cut down the trees, burnt the standing corn, ravaged and desolated the whole territory. The houses he allowed to remain entire, that the Milesians, governed by that powerful attachment which binds men to their ancient habitations, might return thither after his departure, and again apply to the sowing and cultivation of the ground, the fruits of which he was determined next harvest

The war continued by his successors. Olymp. xl. 2. A. C. 619.

[20] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625.

[21] Strabo, p. 680. The wealth of Gyges was proverbial in the time of Anacreon:

Ου μοι μελει Γυγαο
Τ᾽ Σαρδιων ανακτος, etc.

CHAP. VII.

to deſtroy. In this manner he continued, during eleven years, to haraſs, but was unable to conquer the Mileſians. The inhabitants of the country retired at his approach, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, the walls of which bid defiance to his aſſaults; nor was it poſſible to reduce by blockade a city that had long been, and ſtill continued miſtreſs of the ſea. But Alyattes perſiſted in diſtreſſing thoſe whom it ſeemed impoſſible to ſubdue; and he was carrying on his twelfth autumnal incurſion with fire and ſword, when an unforeſeen accident occaſioned a ſpeedy termination of the war.

An unforeſeen event puts an end to the war. Olymp. xliii. 2. A. C. 607.

The beautiful territory of Miletus was, according to annual cuſtom, thrown into a blaze, and the flames of the ſtanding corn, impelled by the violence of the wind, communicated with the temple of Aſſeſian Minerva. That ſacred edifice was burnt to the ground. Alyattes, who was attended on his march by pipes, harps, and flutes, adapted to the voice both of men and of women, did not immediately conſider, amidſt the noiſe of feſtivity, and the parade of military triumph, the fatal conſequences of this enormous impiety. But ſickening ſoon after at Sardis, he had leiſure, during the quiet and ſolitude of his diſtemper, to reflect on the horror of his crime; and prying into futurity with that anxious ſolicitude which uſually attends guilt, he diſpatched meſſengers to the temple of Delphi, to conſult the Grecian god concerning the means of mitigating the diſtreſs of his preſent ſtate of mind. Apollo refuſed giving an anſwer to

his petition, until he had rebuilt the temple of Minerva. The Lydian prepared to comply with this condition, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Miletus, to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, until the great work ſhould be completed. That city was then governed by Thraſybulus; who, by one of thoſe revolutions not unfrequent in the Grecian republics, had attained the rank of tyrant[24], as it was then called, in a ſtate uſually governed as a democratical community. Similarity of views and diſpoſitions had introduced a friendly connection between Thraſybulus and the celebrated Periander of Corinth, who was no ſooner acquainted with the advice of Apollo, than he ſent immediate intimation of it to the Mileſian prince, counſelling him at the ſame time to avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to promote the intereſt of his country. In compliance with this advice, Thraſybulus employed an expedient equally ſingular and ſucceſsful. When the Lydian ambaſſadors arrived at Miletus, they expected to behold a city in diſtreſs, not only deſtitute of the accommodations and luxuries, but ill provided with the chief neceſſaries of life. But their ſurpriſe was extreme, to obſerve vaſt magazines of corn open to public view, to perceive an extraordinary abundance of

CHAP. VII.

[24] In the ſtrict ſenſe, τυραννος means him who has acquired ſovereignty in a free republic. The word has no relation to the abuſe of power, as in the modern acceptation. Thraſybulus of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, Piſiſtratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Alexander of Pheræ, and Dionyſius of Syracuſe, were all called τυραννοι, though their characters were as widely different as thoſe of Titus and Domitian, the extremes of virtue and vice.

CHAP. VII.

all the other fruits of the ground; and to behold the inhabitants revelling in fulneſs and feſtivity, as if their country had never ſuffered the cruel ravages of an invader. This appearance of eaſe and plenty was exhibited by the contrivance of Thraſybulus, by whoſe command the corn and other proviſions had been carried from private magazines into the ſtreet, that the Lydians, returning to Sardis, the uſual reſidence of their prince, might acquaint him with the proſperous condition of a people, whom it had been the great object of his reign to afflict and to annoy. Alyattes was much affected by the intelligence, and at length conſented to a peace with the Mileſians on honorable terms. To compenſate for his paſt injuries and impiety, he promiſed to dedicate to Minerva two new edifices, the magnificence of which ſhould far eclipſe the ſplendor of her ancient temple. The promiſe was performed, the new temples were conſecrated, Alyattes recovered from his diſtemper, and peace ſubſiſted for a ſhort time between the two nations.

Happy reign of Alyattes.

The long reign of Alyattes, which, if we may credit the doubtful evidence of ancient authors in matters of chronology, laſted fifty-two years after the treaty with Miletus, was not chequered with any great variety of fortune. He conquered, indeed, the city and ſmall territory of Smyrna, a Grecian ſettlement then in its infancy, but which was deſtined afterwards to become, by its happy ſituation for commerce, the moſt wealthy and populous eſtabliſhment in thoſe parts, and to be

CHAP. VII.

ſtyled, in the pompous language of inſcription, the ornament of Ionia, the firſt and chief city of the Aſiatic coaſt[25]. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in repelling the deſtructive invaſions of the Scythian hordes, who ravaged the northern parts of his dominions, and in reſiſting the dangerous ambition of the Medes, the moſt powerful nation of Upper Aſia. Satisfied with theſe advantages, Alyattes became unwilling to commit his future fortune to the viciſſitudes of war. Fixed in this purpoſe, he ſpent his remaining days amidſt the happineſs of his wealth and grandeur, in contemplating the various ſtages of his proſperity, in liſtening to the flattery of his courtiers, in receiving the grateful homage of his ſubjects, and in enjoying that pomp and pleaſure which uſually ſurround an eaſtern throne.

The war renewed by Croeſus, Olymp. liv. 3. A. C. 562.

This fortunate prince was ſucceeded, five hundred and ſixty-two years before Chriſt, by his ſon Crœſus, whoſe uninterrupted proſperity, in the firſt years of his reign, far eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſors. But the ſplendor of Crœſus was that of a paſſing meteor, which dazzles for a moment, and diſappears for ever. Of all the kings of Lydia, he was the greateſt conqueror, but he was alſo the laſt king of that country[26], as well as the laſt prince of his family. Under various unjuſt pretences he attacked the Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, which being undiſturbed by foreign war,

[25] Marm. Oxon.

[26] Lydia deſcended to the rank of a province, as will appear below.

CHAP. VII.

had unfortunately engaged in domeſtic diſſenſions. While jealouſy hindered the Greeks, ignorance prevented the barbarians, from forming a confederacy ſufficient to reſiſt the Lydian power. The Carians, Myſians, and Phrygians, fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the whole peninſula of Leſſer Aſia (excepting only the little territory of the Lycians and Cilicians), extending eaſtward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of barbarian extraction[27], finally acknowledged the power of Crœſus, and tamely received his commands.

who ſubdues the Aſiatic Greeks, as well as the neighbouring nations.

Having met with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conſpicuous by ſea. For this purpoſe he thought ſeriouſly of equipping a fleet, with which he purpoſed to invade and conquer the Grecian iſlands directly fronting his dominions. But this deſign, which, conſidering the ſlow progreſs in maritime power among the nations moſt diligent to attain it, would probably have failed of ſucceſs, was prevented by the advice of a philoſophical traveller, conveyed in ſuch a lively turn of wit, as eaſily changed the reſolution of the king. Bias of Priené, in Ionia, ſome ſay Pittacus of Mitylene, in the iſle of Leſbos, while he travelled, after the Grecian cuſtom, from curioſity and a love of knowledge, was preſented to Crœſus at the Lydian court; and being aſked by that prince,

He is diverted from his deſign of raiſing a naval power.

[27] The Phrygians, Myſians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Lydians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Bithynians, Carians, and Pamphylians.

what news from Greece? he anſwered with a republican freedom, that the iſlanders had collected powerful ſquadrons of cavalry, with an intention of invading Lydia. "May the gods grant," ſaid Crœſus, "that the Greeks, who are unacquainted "with horſemanſhip, ſhould attack the diſ-"ciplined valor of the Lydian cavalry; there "would ſoon be an end to the conteſt." "In "the ſame manner," replied Bias, "as if the "Lydians, who are totally unexperienced in naval "affairs, ſhould invade the Grecians by ſea." Struck by the acuteneſs of this unexpected obſervation, Crœſus deſiſted from his intended expedition againſt the iſlands; and inſtead of employing new means for extending his conqueſts, determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels which he had won, and to diſplay the grandeur which he had attained. CHAP. VII.

His court was the gayeſt and moſt ſplendid of any in that age; and the Aſiatic Greeks, whatever diſhonor they incurred, ſuſtained not, perhaps, any real loſs by their eaſy ſubmiſſion to a vain and weak man, but a magnificent and liberal prince[28], who was extremely partial to their country. They acknowledged the conqueror, indeed, by a very moderate tribute, but they enjoyed their ancient The ſplendor of Crœſus's court.

[28] Such is the character which reſults from conſidering the conduct of Crœſus. The tranſactions of his reign will not warrant our adopting the admirable panegyric of him by Pindar (Pyth. i.):

Ου φθονεει Κροισῳ Φιλοφρων αιτη, etc.
He was taught wiſdom late, and only by adverſity.

CHAP. VII.

laws, and adminiſtered without control their domeſtic concerns and government [29]. Crœſus ſpoke their language, encouraged their arts, admired their poets and *ſophiſts*. Ionia, perhaps, was never more happy than under the eye of this indulgent maſter, whoſe protection nouriſhed the tender ſhoot of philoſophy, which had begun to ſpring up ſhortly before his reign. Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priené, Cleobulus of Lindus, and the other wiſe men, as they are emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider more fully the improvements made by thoſe ancient ſages, who are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence with each other, as well as with Chilon of Sparta, Periander of Corinth, and Solon of Athens, men who acquired ſuch reputation by their practical wiſdom, as rendered them the oracles of their reſpective countries. Moſt of theſe, as well as Æſop the fabuliſt, and the elegant Greek poets of the times, were bountifully received at the court of Crœſus. There is ſtill on record a memorable converſation between that prince and Solon, which ſeemed to predict the ſubſequent events of his reign, and which had a late, but important influence on the character and fortune of the Lydian king.

Condition of the Aſiatic Greeks under his government.

[29] Herodot. [30] Thucydid.

Crœſus

CHAP. VII. His converſation with Solon.

Crœſus having entertained his Athenian gueſt, according to the ancient faſhion, for ſeveral days, before he aſked him any queſtions, oſtentatiouſly ſhowed him the magnificence of his palace, and particularly the riches of his treaſury. After all had been diſplayed to the beſt advantage, the king complimented Solon upon his curioſity and love of knowledge; and aſked him, as a man who had ſeen many countries, and reflected with much judgment upon what he had ſeen, whom of all men he eſteemed moſt happy? By the particular occaſion, as well as the triumphant air with which the queſtion was propoſed, the king made it evident that he expected flattery rather than information. But Solon's character had not been enervated by the debilitating air of a court, and he replied with a manly freedom, "Tellus, the Athenian." Crœſus, who had ſcarcely learned to diſtinguiſh, even in imagination, between wealth and happineſs, inquired with a tone of ſurpriſe, why this preference to Tellus? "Tellus," rejoined Solon, "was not conſpicuous for his riches, or his grandeur, being only a ſimple citizen of Athens; but he was deſcended from parents who deſerved the firſt honors of the republic. He was equally fortunate in his children, who obtained univerſal eſteem by their probity, patriotiſm, and every uſeful quality of the mind or body; and as to himſelf, he died fighting gallantly in the ſervice of his country, which his valor rendered victorious in a doubtful combat; on which account the Athenians buried him on the ſpot were he fell, and

CHAP. VII.

diſtinguiſhed him by every honor which public gratitude can confer on illuſtrious merit."

Cræſus had little encouragement, after this anſwer, to aſk Solon, in the ſecond place, whom, next to Tellus, he deemed moſt happy? Such, however, is the illuſion of vanity, that he ſtill ventured to make this demand, and ſtill, as we are informed by the moſt circumſtantial of hiſtorians, entertained hopes of being favorably anſwered. But Solon replied with the ſame freedom as before, "The brothers Cleobis and Biton; two youths of Argos, whoſe ſtrength and addreſs were crowned with repeated victory at the Olympic games; who deſerved the affection of their parents; the gratitude of their country, the admiration of Greece; and who, having ended their lives with peculiar felicity [31], were commemorated by the moſt ſignal monuments of immortal fame."

"And is the happineſs of a king, then," ſaid Cræſus, "ſo little regarded, O Grecian ſtranger! that you prefer to it the mean condition of an Athenian or Argive citizen?" The reply of Solon ſufficiently juſtified his reputation for wiſdom. "The life of man," ſaid he, "conſiſts of ſeventy years, which make twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty days; an immenſe number, yet in the longeſt life, the events of any one day will not be found exactly alike to thoſe of another. The affairs of men are liable to perpetual viciſſitudes; the Divinity who preſides over our fate is envious

[31] Τελευτη τε ξυν αριστη επιγενετο. Herodot. l. 1. c. 31.

of too much prosperity; and all human life, if not condemned to calamity, is at least liable to accident [32]. Whoever has uninterruptedly enjoyed a prosperous tide of success may justly be called fortunate: But he cannot before his death be entitled to the epithet of happy."

CHAP. VIII.

Crœsus affected by the loss of his son Atys.

The events which soon followed this conversation, prove how little satisfaction is derived from the possession of a throne. Victorious in war, unrivalled in wealth, supreme in power, Crœsus felt and acknowledged his unhappiness. The warmest affections of his soul centred in his son Atys, a youth of the most promising hopes, who had often fought and conquered by his side. The strength of his attachment was accompanied with an excess of paternal care, and the anxiety of his waking hours disturbed the tranquillity of his rest. He dreamt that his beloved son was slain by a dart; and the solicitude with which he watched his safety, preventing the youth from his usual occupations and amusements, and thereby rendering him too eager to enjoy them, most probably exposed him to the much-dreaded misfortune. Reluctantly permitted to engage in a party of hunting, the juvenile ardor of Atys, increased by the impatience of long restraint, made him neglect the precautions necessary in that manly amusement. He was slain by a dart, aimed at a wild boar of monstrous size, which had long spread terror over the

32 Ὀυτω ων ω Κροισε πας εξι ανθρωπος συμφορη. The last word is improperly explained in all the translations that I have met with.

CHAP. VII.

country of the Myſians. The weapon came from the hand of Adraſtus, a Phrygian prince and fugitive, whom Crœſus had purified from the involuntary guilt of a brother's blood, and long diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of bounty. To the grateful protection of the Phrygian, Crœſus recommended, at parting, the ſafety of his beloved ſon. A mournful proceſſion of Lydians brought to Sardis the dead body of Atys. The ill-fated murderer followed behind. When they approached the royal preſence, Adraſtus ſtepped forward, and entreated Crœſus to put him to death; thinking life no longer to be endured after killing, firſt his own brother, and then the ſon of his benefactor. But the Lydian king, notwithſtanding the exceſs of his affliction, acknowledged the innocence of Adraſtus, and the power of fate. "Stranger, your action "is blameleſs, being committed without deſign. "I know that my ſon was deſtined to a premature "death." Adraſtus, though pardoned by Crœſus, could not pardon himſelf. When the mourners were removed, he privately returned, and periſhed by his own hand on the tomb of Atys.

Rouſed from his inactivity by the growing power of Perſia.

Two years Crœſus remained diſconſolate for the loſs of his ſon, and might have continued to indulge his unavailing affliction during the remainder of life; had not the growing greatneſs of Perſia, which threatened the ſafety of his dominions, rouſed him from his dream of miſery. That country was anciently confined to a ſmall part of the immenſe region at preſent known by the Perſian name. Its inhabitants had recently become formidable, and,

in the courſe of a few years, under the elder Cyrus, they extended their name and conqueſts over Upper Aſia, overturned the power of Crœſus, enſlaved the Greeks of Aſia Minor, and, for the firſt time, threatened Europe with the terrors of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. This memorable revolution deſerves not only to be examined in its conſequences, but traced to its ſource, becauſe the Grecian wars and tranſactions, during the ſpace of above two centuries, with the Perſian empire, form an important object of attention in the preſent hiſtory.

The revolutions in Upper Aſia, till the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

The firſt Aſſyrian monarchy extended its dominion in Upper Aſia, from the northern deſerts of Scythia, to the Southern or Indian Ocean. On the weſt it was ſeparated by the river Halys from the dominions of Lydia. The river Indus formed its eaſtern boundary. The conquerors of the eaſt have aſſumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expreſſive of the nature, as well as of the greatneſs of their power. The various provinces which they conquered, though acknowledging their univerſal dependence on the emperor, were yet ſubject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furniſhed their contingent of troops in time of war, were permitted, in their ancient territories, to retain the power, and to diſplay the pomp of royalty. This ſyſtem of government is more favorable to the extenſion than to the permanence of empire. The different members of this unwieldy body were ſo feebly connected with each other, that to ſecure their united ſubmiſſion

CHAP. VII.

required almoſt as much genius as to atchieve their conqueſt. When the ſpirit which animated the immenſe maſs was withdrawn, the different parts fell aſunder; revolutions were no leſs rapid than frequent; and, by one of thoſe events familiar in the hiſtory of the Eaſt, the warlike ſceptre of Ninus and Semiramis was wreſted from the effeminate hands of Sardanapulus. In the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſix before Chriſt, the provincial governors of Babylonia and Media, diſdaining to receive orders from this enervated ſhadow of their ancient lords, rejected his contemptible authority, and eſtabliſhed two new dynaſties, which, having governed Aſia for two centuries, were again reunited by the fortunate valor of Cyrus.

Extraction of Cyrus.

This extraordinary man, who raiſed the Perſian glory on the ruins of the Medes and Babylonians, was the ſon of Cambyſes, the tributary prince of Perſia: On the mother's ſide he derived a more honorable deſcent from Mandana, daughter of Aſtyages, the ſupreme lord of Media, and many kingdoms of the Eaſt. The powerful monarchy erected by Cyrus was diſtinguiſhed by the name of his native province, as the preceding empires had been denominated after the provinces of their reſpective conquerors, although all of them, comprehending the ſame nations, were bounded by nearly the ſame limits, Cyrus alone having extended his empire to the Grecian ſea.

Deſcription of Perſia.

The territory of Perſia, to the name of which we allude, is ſituated on the ſouthern frontiers of Media, and reaches to the Perſian gulph. The

mountainous nature of the country renders it improper for cavalry, but it formerly produced a bold and hardy race of men, who, uncorrupted by the effeminacy of the Aſiatic plains, required only the directing genius of a commander to conduct them to war and victory. Such a commander they found in Cyrus, whoſe mind, burſting through the ſhackles impoſed on virtues and abilities by the manners and climate of the Eaſt [77], extended the name and conqueſts of Perſia from the Tigris to the Indus, and from the Caſpian Sea to the Ocean; a name which, after the revolution of ſo many ages and empires, is ſtill retained by that ſpacious region of the earth.

The early inſtitutions of that country embelliſhed by ancient hiſtorians.

As it is natural to account, by extraordinary cauſes, for extraordinary events, hiſtorians have aſcribed inſtitutions and cuſtoms to the Perſians worthy of rendering them the maſters of the world. The philoſophical Xenophon, embelliſhing and diſguiſing with wonderful art the moſt admired, and the moſt admirable, branches of Grecian diſcipline, has beſtowed them with too laviſh a generoſity on the founders of a nation, who became the unrelenting enemies of his country. But, notwithſtanding all the refinements of his ingenious and well-cultivated invention, it is not impoſſible to ſee through the labored artifice of the diſguiſe; and, as truth only is conſiſtent, we may diſcern very material contradictions in the only remaining accounts of the ancient manners of the Perſians.

[77] See his panegyric in Xenophon's Cyropædia, and in Æchylus's Perſæ.

CHAP. VII.

Their early education conſiſted, if we may credit both Xenophon and Herodotus, in learning to manage the horſe, to ſhoot with the bow, and to ſpeak truth. Yet it is neceſſary to obſerve that the firſt of thoſe arts, how well ſoever it might be underſtood in latter times by the Perſian nobility, muſt have been very little known to their anceſtors in the time of Cyrus. The craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavorable to the rearing of horſes, and the poverty of their circumſtances was ill adapted to maintain them. While all the other nations of Upper Aſia, except the Scythians, fought on horſeback, the Perſian armies were compoſed chiefly of infantry: And when it is conſidered, that the Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern barbarians who over-ran and ſubdued the countries of the eaſt and weſt, became maſters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry, there is reaſon to aſſign, as the main cauſe of the Perſian conqueſts, not their acquaintance with horſemanſhip, but rather their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valor of foot-ſoldiers againſt the deſultory aſſaults of horſemen. The Perſians were commonly armed with ſwords and lances, inſtead of bows and darts, the uſual weapons of the people of Aſia. This diſtinction was occaſioned by their want of cavalry. While their neighbours, truſting to the mettle and ſwiftneſs of their ſteeds, employed the harmleſs efforts of diſtant hoſtility, the Perſians fought hand to hand, each man buckling

Real cauſes of the Perſian grandeur.

CHAP. VII.

closely to his foe. If defeated, they had no means of escape; but it was not to be expected that, practising such a superior style of war, under the conduct of an accomplished general, they should ever meet with a defeat; and indeed Cyrus always proved victorious over the civilized nations of Asia; nor was the career of his triumph interrupted, till contending against the barbarous Scythians, who joined the Persian arms and discipline to their own irresistible fury, he lost at once his army and his life [14].

The reign of Cyrus. A. C. 559. —529.

His first conquests.

But before experiencing this fatal reverse of fortune, he was destined, in the course of thirty years, to act a distinguished part on the theatre of the world, which long retained the marks, and will always preserve the memory of his reign. Among the first conquests of Cyrus were the territories of Armenia and Chaldea, which had openly revolted against established authority. If we believe Xenophon, Cyrus was sent against these rebellious countries as the lieutenant of his grandfather Astyages, who from his palace in Ecbatan diffused his sovereign mandates over many provinces of Upper Asia. The relation of Herodotus makes it probable, that Cyrus had before this time assumed the government of Media, over which the cruelty, injustice, and superstitious fears of Astyages, rendered him unworthy to reign, even in the opinion of his most trusty subjects.

[14] In the history of Cyrus, the plain relation of Herodotus is to be preferred to the moral embellishments of Xenophon, except when the accounts of the latter are confirmed by the authority of scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Which alarm Crœsus Olymp. lvi. 4. A. C. 549.

However that may be (for it affects not the design of the present narrative), it was natural to expect that the Persian success in Armenia, a province situate so near to the Lydian dominions, should alarm the fears of Crœsus, and determine that prince to resist the encroachments of a power which endangered the permanence of his own. In taking this resolution, which might probably be attended with the most important consequences, he was desirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the issue of the war. The principal oracles which he consulted were those of Branchis in Ionia, of Hammon in Libya, and of Delphi in Greece. Among these respected shrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its ascendant, as the most faithful interpreter of fate. Crœsus was fully persuaded of its veracity; and desirous generously to compensate for the trouble which he had already given, and still meant to give, the priests of Apollo, he sacrificed three thousand oxen to the god, and adorned his shrine with dedications, equally valuable for the workmanship and for the materials; precious vessels of silver, ewers of iron beautifully inlaid and enamelled; various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and a female figure, three cubits, or near five feet high. In return for these magnificent presents, the oracle, in ambiguous language, flattered Crœsus, with obtaining an easy victory over his enemies, and with enjoying a long life and a prosperous reign. The god at the same time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Crœsus consults the oracle of Delphi.

CHAP. VII.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Elevated with theſe favorable predictions of Apollo, Crœſus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part, for the accompliſhment of his aſpiring purpoſe. Not deeming himſelf ſufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece, to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made particular inquiry of thoſe beſt informed concerning the ſtate of Europe; and diſcovered, that among all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were juſtly entitled to the pre-eminence. In order to learn which of theſe communities deſerved the epithet of moſt powerful, it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors into Greece. The Lydians diſpatched with this important commiſſion ſoon diſcovered that the Athenians, after having been long haraſſed by internal diſſenſions, were actually governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worſt-regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domeſtic peace and foreign proſperity, ever ſince they had adopted the wiſe inſtitutions of Lycurgus. After that memorable period, they had repeatedly conquered the warlike Argives, triumphed over the hardy Arcadians, and, notwithſtanding the heroic exploits of Ariſtomenes, ſubdued and enſlaved their unfortunate rivals of Meſſené. To the Lydian ambaſſadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle, as the community whoſe alliance they were enjoined to ſolicit. Having repaired accordingly to Sparta,

CHAP. VII.

they were introduced not only to the kings and ſenate, but, as the importance of the negociation required, to the general aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, to whom they, in few words, declared the object of their commiſſion: "We are ſent, O Lacedæmonians! by Crœſus, king of the Lydians and of many other nations, who being commanded by the oracle of Apollo to ſeek the friendſhip of the moſt powerful people of Greece, now ſummons you, who juſtly merit that epithet, to become his faithful allies, in obedience to the will of the god whoſe authority you acknowledge." The Lacedæmonians, pleaſed with the alliance of a warlike king, and ſtill more with the fame of their valor, readily accepted the propoſal. To the ſtrict connexion of an offenſive and defenſive league, they joined the more reſpected ties of ſacred hoſpitality. A few years before this tranſaction, they had ſent to purchaſe gold at Sardis, for making a ſtatue of Apollo. Crœſus had on that occaſion gratuitouſly ſupplied their want. Remembering this generoſity, they gave the Lydian ambaſſadors, at their departure, as a preſent for their maſter, a veſſel of braſs, containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hogſheads), and beautifully carved on the outſide with various forms of animals.

His flattering proſpects.

Crœſus, having thus happily accompliſhed the deſign recommended by the oracle, was eager to ſet out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliance with Amaſis, king of Egypt, and Labynetus, king of Babylon. He had

now obtained the friendſhip of the moſt warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raiſed power of Cyrus and the Perſians ſeemed incapable of reſiſting ſuch a formidable confederacy.

He invades the Perſian territories. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Elevated with theſe flattering ideas of his own invincible greatneſs, Crœſus waited not to attack the Perſian dominions until he had collected the ſtrength of his allies. The ſanguine impetuoſity of his temper, unexperienced in adverſity, unfortunately precipitated him into meaſures no leſs ruinous than daring. Attended only by the arms of Lydia, and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immenſe wealth enabled him at any time to call into his ſervice, he marched towards the river Halys, and having croſſed, with much difficulty, that deep and broad ſtream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the weſtern frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country ſoon experienced all the calamities of invaſion. The Pterian plain, the moſt beautiful and the moſt fertile diſtrict of Cappadocia was laid waſte; the ports of the Euxine, as well as ſeveral inland cities, were plundered; and the inoffenſive inhabitants were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unreſiſting ſoftneſs of the natives of thoſe parts, Crœſus was eager to puſh forwards; and if Cyrus did not previouſly meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Perſia. Againſt this dangerous reſolution he was in vain exhorted by a Lydian, named Sandanis, who, when aſked his opinion of the

CHAP. VII.

war, declared it with that freedom which the princes of the East have in every age permitted, amidst all the pride and caprices of despotic power, to men distinguished by the gifts of nature or education. "You are preparing, O king, to march against a people who lead a laborious and a miserable life; whose daily subsistence is often denied them, and is always scanty and precarious; who drink only water, and who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts. What can the Lydians gain by the conquest of Persia; they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Persians are destitute? For my part, I deem it a blessing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of these miserable barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia[35]." The moderation of this advice was rejected by the fatal presumption of Crœsus, who confounding the dictates of experienced wisdom with the mean suggestions of pusillanimity, dismissed the counsellor with contempt.

Is defeated by Cyrus in Cappadocia.

Meanwhile, the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravaged with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more speedy issue, than by his intended expedition into Persia. The army of Cyrus gradually augmented on his march, the tributary princes cheerfully contributing with their united strength towards the assistance of a master whose valor and generosity they admired, and who now took arms to protect

[35] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

the ſafety of his ſubjects, as well as to ſupport the grandeur of his throne. Such was the rapidity of his movement, eſpecially after being informed of the deſtructive ravages of the enemy in Cappadocia, that he arrived from the ſhores of the Caſpian to thoſe of the Euxine Sea, before the army of Crœſus had provided the neceſſaries for their journey. That prince, when apprized of the neighbourhood of the Perſians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewiſe encamped at no great diſtance; frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perſeverance, and only terminated by the darkneſs of night. The loſs on both ſides hindered a renewal of the battle. The numbers, as well as the courage of the Perſians, much exceeded the expectation of Crœſus. As they diſcovered not any intention to haraſs his retreat, he determined to move back towards Sardis, to ſpend the winter in the amuſements of his palace, and after ſummoning his numerous allies to his ſtandard, to take the field early in the ſpring, with ſuch an increaſe of force as ſeemed ſufficient to overpower the Perſians [35].

CHAP. VII.

But this deſign was defeated by the careful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without moleſtation; carefully informing himſelf of every ſtep which they took, and of every meaſure which they ſeemed

The prudent conduct of Cyrus.

[35] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxvii.

CHAP. VII.

determined to purſue. Patiently watching the opportunity of a juſt revenge, he waited until Crœſus had re-entered his capital, and had diſbanded the foreign mercenaries, who compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of his army. It then ſeemed the proper time for Cyrus to put his Perſians in motion; and ſuch was his celerity, that he brought the firſt news of his own arrival in the plain of Sardis [17]. Crœſus, whoſe firmneſs might well have been ſhaken by the imminence of this unforeſeen danger, was not wanting, on the preſent occaſion, to the duties which he owed to his own fame, and the luſtre of the Lydian throne. Though his mercenaries were diſbanded, his own ſubjects, who ſerved him from attachment, who had been long accuſtomed to victory, and who were animated with a high ſenſe of national honor, burned with a deſire of enjoying an opportunity to check the daring inſolence of the invaders. Crœſus indulged and encouraged this generous ardor. The Lydians, in that age, fought on horſeback, armed with long ſpears; the ſtrength of the Perſians conſiſted in infantry. They were ſo little accuſtomed to the uſe of horſes, that camels were almoſt the only animals which they employed as beaſts of burden. This circumſtance ſuggeſted to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a ſtratagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus, was immediately adopted with approbation by that

[17] Αυτος αγγελος Κροισω εληλυθει. He came his own meſſenger to Crœſus."

prince.

prince [18]. Harpagus, having obſerved that horſes had a ſtrong averſion to the ſhape and ſmell of camels, adviſed the Perſian army to be drawn up in the following order: All the camels, which had been employed to carry baggage and proviſions, were collected into one body, arranged in a long line, fronting the Lydian cavalry. The foot-ſoldiers of the Perſians were poſted immediately behind the line, and placed at a due diſtance. The Median horſe (for a few ſquadrons of theſe followed the ſtandard of Cyrus) formed the rear of the army. As the troops on both ſides approached to join battle, the Lydian cavalry, terrified at the unuſual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into diſorder, and turning their heads, endeavoured to eſcape from the field. Crœſus, who perceived the confuſion, was ready to deſpair of his fortune; but the Lydians, abandoning their horſes, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. Their courage deſerved a better fate; but unaccuſtomed as they were to this mode of fighting, they were received and repelled by the experienced valor of the Perſian infantry, and obliged to take refuge within the fortified ſtrength of Sardis, where they imagined themſelves ſecure. The walls of that city bid defiance to the rude art of attack, as then practiſed by the moſt warlike nations. If the Perſian army ſhould inveſt it, the Lydians were

CHAP. VII.

Defeats Crœſus in the plain of Sardis.

Crœſus ſhuts himſelf up in that city, and craves aſſiſtance from his Spartan allies.

[18] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

CHAP. VII.

provided with provisions for several years; and there was reason to expect, that in a few months, and even weeks, they would receive such assistance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece (to which countries they had already sent ambassadors), as would oblige the Persians to raise the siege [39].

State of Sparta at that time.

The Lydian ministers dispatched into Greece met with great sympathy from the Spartans. That people were particularly observant of the faith of treaties; and while they punished their enemies with unexampled severity, they behaved with generous compassion towards those whom they had once accepted for allies. The benevolent principles of their nature were actually warmed and elevated by the triumph of a successful expedition against the most formidable of their domestic foes. They had maintained a long and bloody war with the Argives, for the small, but valuable district of Thyrea, lying on the frontiers of the rival states. The Spartans at length obtained possession of it; but the Argives advanced with an army more powerful than any that they had ever led into the field, in order to make good their ancient pretensions. The wars of the Greeks were not merely undertaken from the dictates of interest and ambition, but considered as trials of skill, and contests of honor. When a conference, therefore, was proposed, we know not by which of the parties, it was agreed, in order to prevent a greater effusion of blood, that three hundred combatants on the

[39] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

Spartan, and an equal number on the Argive ſide, ſhould determine, by the ſucceſs of their arms, the diſputed title to Thyrea, as well as the warlike pre-eminence of their reſpective republics. Three hundred champions being ſelected for this purpoſe from either army, it ſeemed neceſſary that the remainder of both nations ſhould retire; for the Argive and Spartan citizens, who felt with a republican ſenſibility for the intereſt of their communities, could not have remained tame ſpectators of the battle. The combatants fought with an obſtinate valor, of which there are few examples in hiſtory. Each ſoldier behaved as if the ſucceſs of the day had been committed to his ſingle ſpear; and each was eager to ſacrifice his own life to the preſervation of his country's fame. Theſe generous ſentiments were fully proved by the iſſue of the battle. At the approach of night, only three combatants ſurvived, two Argives, and the Spartan Othryades. The Argives, either through neglect or pity, ſpared the life of their ſingle opponent, and returned home with the melancholy tidings of their bloody victory. Othryades ſtill kept the field, collecting the ſpoil, and carrying into his own camp the arms of the enemy, which he erected into the uſual trophy of military ſucceſs. Next day the two armies, conſiſting of a great proportion of the citizens capable of bearing arms, arrived at the ſcene of action. The ſurpriſe of the Argives is not to be expreſſed, when they ſaw the appearance of the field. Notwithſtanding the Spartan trophy, they ſtill inſiſted, that as *two* of

O. H. A. B. VII.

Their victories over the Argives.

CHAP. VII.

their champions, and only *one* of the enemy's, had ſurvived, they were juſtly entitled to the glory of the day; but, ſeemingly with more reaſon, the Spartans maintained that this honor belonged to Othryades. From verbal altercation, carried on with that warmth which the importance of the diſpute naturally inſpired, they made an eaſy tranſition to acts of violence [40]. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ſuperior diſcipline of Sparta finally prevailed. The Argives lamented their defeat, as the greateſt calamity that had ever befallen them. The inward feelings of their hearts were expreſſed by external demonſtrations of ſorrow. Like moſt of the Grecian nations, they had hitherto adorned their long hair, to increaſe the gracefulneſs of manly beauty, and to render their appearance more terrible to their enemies. But in remembrance of this diſaſter, they ſhaved their heads [41], deprived the Argive women of their golden ornaments, and bound themſelves by a dreadful imprecation never more to aſſume their

[40] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxii.

[41] At funerals, the Greeks cut off their hair, to be conſumed in the funeral pile with the bodies of their friends. Thus, at the interment of Patroclus, Achilles

Στας απανευθε πυρης ξανθην απεκειρατο χαιτην
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε τηλεθοωσαν.

In the Oreſtes of Euripides, Helen is blamed for ſparing her locks, and cutting off only the ends. "She is," ſays Electra, "η παλαι γυνη, the ſame coquette as ever." Lyſias, ſpeaking of a great national calamity, ſays metaphorically, "It becomes Greece to ſhave her head." Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. The Argives, as a community, realized the metaphor.

wonted appearance, until they had recovered poſ- C. H. A. P. VIII.
ſeſſion of Thyrea. The Spartans, on the other hand, celebrated their victory with the liveliſt expreſſions of national triumph. Othryades alone partook not the general joy. Aſhamed of returning to Sparta a ſolitary monument of three hundred brave men, he, with a generous deſpair, ſacrificed his own life to the manes of his warlike companions. Such were the circumſtances of the Lacedæmonian republic, when the ambaſſadors of Crœſus came to demand their aſſiſtance. The proſperity of their own ſituation naturally heightened, by contraſt, the melancholy condition of their unfortunate ally, beſieged, as they learned, in his capital, by a victorious army. They immediately reſolved to ſend him a ſpeedy and effectual relief; and for this purpoſe aſſembled their troops, made ready their veſſels, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the expedition.

They determine to aſſiſt Crœſus.

The valor of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the ſinking empire of Lydia, but before their armament could ſet ſail, Crœſus was no longer a ſovereign. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of Sardis, that city had been taken by ſtorm, on the twentieth day of the ſiege, the walls having been ſcaled in a quarter, which, appearing altogether inacceſſible, was too careleſsly guarded. This was effected by the enterpriſe of Hyreades a Mede, who accidentally obſerved a ſentinel deſcend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and being accuſtomed to

Sardis taken by the Perſians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

CHAP. XIII.

clamber over the dangerous precipices of his native country, resolved to try his activity in passing the rock upon which he had discovered the Lydian. The design was more easily accomplished than he had reason to expect; emulation and success encouraged the bravest of the Persians to follow his example; these were supported by greater numbers of their countrymen; the garrison of Sardis was surprised; the citadel stormed; and the rich capital of lower Asia subjected to the vengeful rapacity of an indignant victor [41].

They determine to sack Croesus.

The Persians were accustomed, like other nations of the ancient world, to exercise the rights of conquest, without respecting the laws of humanity. Though they fought, and conquered; and plundered, only for the benefit of their prince, whose slaves and property they themselves were, yet in the first emotions of military success they discovered all the eagerness of avarice, and all the fury of resentment; acting as if they had been called to punish, not the enemies of their king, but their own personal foes; and as if each man had been entitled to reap the full fruits of his rapacious cruelty.

Sardis taken by the Persians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Ungenerous treatment of Croesus.

The Lydian prince, delivered, as we are told, by an extraordinary accident from the blind rage of the soldiery [42], seemed to be reserved for a

[41] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxiv.

[42] Herodot. p. 36. Croesus had a dumb son, who seeing a Persian rush against his father, whose misfortunes had rendered him careless of life, first spoke on this occasion; Ἄνθρωπε, μὴ κτείνε Κροῖσον. The learned in physiology will decide, whether certain impediments of speech may sometimes be conquered by the impetuous violence of some strong passion.

harder fate. Dragged into the presence of his conqueror, he was loaded with irons; and the stern, unrelenting Cyrus, of whose humane temper of mind we have so beautiful, but so flattering a picture in the philosophical romance of Xenophon, ordered him, with the melancholy train of his Lydian attendants, to be committed to the flames. An immense pile of wood and other combustibles, was erected in the most spacious part of the city. The miserable victims bound hand and foot, were placed on the top of the pyre. Cyrus, surrounded by his generals, witnessed the dreadful spectacle, either from an abominable principle of superstition, if he had bound himself by a vow to sacrifice Crœsus as the first fruits of his Lydian victory, or from a motive of curiosity, equally cruel and impious, to try whether Crœsus, who had so magnificently adorned the temples and enriched the ministers of the gods, would be helped in time of need by the miraculous interposition of his much honored protectors [a].

CHAP. VII.

Cyrus receives him in his presence.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Lydian, oppressed and confounded by the intolerable weight of his present calamity, compared with the security and splendor of his former state, recollected his memorable conversation with the Athenian sage, and uttered with a deep groan the name of Solon. Cyrus asked by an interpreter, "Whose name he

[a] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxvi.

CHAP. VII.

invoked?" "*His*," replied Crœsus, emboldened by the prospect of certain death, "whose words ought ever to speak to the heart of kings." This reply not being satisfactory, he was commanded to explain at full length the subject of his thoughts. Accordingly he related the important discourse which had passed between himself and the Athenian, of which it was the great moral, that no man could be called happy till his death [41].

Cyrus receives him into favor.

The words of a dying man are fitted to make a strong impression on the heart. Those of Crœsus deeply affected the mind of Cyrus. The Persian considered the speech of Solon as addressed to himself. He repented of his intended cruelty towards an unfortunate prince, who had formerly enjoyed all the pomp of prosperity: and dreading the concealed vengeance that might lurk in the bosom of Fate, gave orders that the pyre should be extinguished. But the workmen who had been employed to prepare it, had performed their task with so much care, that the order could not speedily be obeyed. At that moment, Crœsus calling on Apollo, whose favorite shrine of Delphi had experienced his generous munificence, and whose perfidious oracle had made him so ungrateful a return, the god, it is said, sent a plentiful shower to extinguish the pyre. This event, which saved the life, and which sufficiently attested the piety of Crœsus, strongly recommended him to the credulity of his conqueror. It seemed impossible to pay

[41] See above, p. 305.

too much respect to a man who was evidently the favorite of heaven. Cyrus gave orders that he should be seated by his side, and thenceforth treated as a king; a revolution of fortune equally sudden and unexpected. But the mind of Crœsus had undergone a still more important revolution; for, tutored in the useful school of adversity, he learned to think with patience, and to act with prudence; to govern his own passions by the dictates of reason, and to repay by wholesome advice the generous behaviour of his Persian master[46].

CHAP. VII.

Crœsus reproaches the oracle of Delphi;

The first advantage which he derived from the change in Cyrus's disposition towards him, was the permission of sending his fetters to the temple of Delphian Apollo, whose flattering oracles had encouraged him to wage war with the Persians. "Behold," were his messengers instructed to say, "the trophies of our promised success! behold the monuments of the unerring veracity of the god!" The Pythia heard their reproach with a smile of contemptuous indignation, and answered it with that solemn gravity which she was so carefully taught to assume: "The gods themselves cannot avoid their *own* destiny, much less avert, however they may retard, the determined fates of men. Crœsus has suffered, and justly suffered, for the crime of his ancestor Gyges, who intrusted, as chief of the guards, with the person of Candaules, the last king of the race of Hercules, was seduced by an impious woman to murder his master, to defile his bed, and to usurp his

[46] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxix.

CHAP. VII.

royal dignity. For this complicated guilt of Gyges the misfortunes of Crœsus have atoned; but know, that, through the favor of Apollo, these misfortunes have happened three years later than the fates ordained [47]." The Pythia then proceeded to explain her answers concerning the event of the war against Cyrus, and proved, to the conviction of the Lydians, that her words, if properly understood, portended the destruction, not of the Persian, but of the Lydian empire. Crœsus heard with resignation the report of his messengers, and acknowledged the justice of the Delphian oracle, which maintained and increased the lustre of its ancient fame.

whose predictions are explained to his satisfaction.

[47] Herodot. l. i. c. xci. et seq.

CHAP. VIII.

Cyrus threatens the Aſiatic Colonies. — Their Meaſures. — The Spartans remonſtrate againſt his Deſign. — Conqueſts of Harpagus. — Migrations of the vanquiſhed Greeks. — Cyrus takes Babylon. — Cambyſes ſubdues Egypt. — Receives Tribute from the African Greeks. — Reign of Darius. — Final Settlement of the Perſian Empire. — Degeneracy of Manners. — Revolt of Ionia. — State of Greece. — The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians — who burn Sardis. — The Aſiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land. — Their Condition under the Perſian Government.

CHAP. VIII. Cyrus threatens the Ionians. Olymp. lviii. 2. A. C. 547.

DURING the reign of Crœſus, and his four warlike predeceſſors, the Aſiatic Greeks ſometimes enjoyed their favorite form of republican government, ſometimes ſubmitted to domeſtic tyrants, alternately recovered and loſt their national independence. The ſucceſs of the ambitious Cyrus was not likely to improve the condition of the Ionians, who, during the dependence of his fortune, had repeatedly neglected opportunities to deſerve his gratitude. Before invading Lower Aſia, he earneſtly entreated them to ſhare the glory of his arms; but they preferred their allegiance to Crœſus, before the friendſhip of a leſs known, and perhaps ſeverer, tyrant. When the fortune of war,

CHAP. VIII.

or rather the ſuperiority of his own genius, had given Cyrus poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring provinces, the Ionians were forward to declare, by embaſſy, their acceptance of his proffered alliance; or, if that ſhould now be refuſed, to requeſt his protection on the ſame terms required by his Lydian predeceſſor. This ſubmiſſive propoſal only inflamed the ambition of the Perſian; and his celebrated anſwer *, on this occaſion, clearly announced to the Greeks, that if they would eſcape the rigor of ſervitude, they muſt owe their ſafety to the ſtrenuous exertions of a brave defence, not to the clemency of Cyrus.

Meaſures of the Aſiatic colonies.

When his hoſtile intentions were made known in Ionia, the inhabitants of that delightful country aſſembled in the Panionian grove, their ordinary rendezvous in general and important deliberations. This place, which, together with the adjoining promontory of Mycalé, was ſolemnly conſecrated to Neptune, formed the centre of the Ionic coaſt. Towards the north extended the ſpacious bay of Epheſus, beyond which the beautiful peninſula of Clazomené ſtretched an hundred miles into the Ægean. On the ſouth, the territory of Miletus occupied ſixty-two miles of the winding ſhore. But the Mileſians ſent not their deputies to the preſent convention; for having been the confederates, not

* After the Oriental faſhion, he anſwered them by an apologue. A piper ſeeing a great ſwarm of fiſhes in the ſea, began to play, in order to allure them to land. But as they diſregarded his muſic, he employed a net with better ſucceſs. When caught, the fiſhes jumped about in the net. But he told them, "It is unneceſſary now to dance, ſince I have ceaſed to play." Herodot. l. i. c. cxli.

the ſubjects of Crœſus, they were admitted into the Perſian alliance on terms of equality and independence. The Grecian intereſt in Aſia, thus ungenerouſly abandoned by the principal member of the confederacy, was ſupported with unuſual ſpirit and unanimity by all the inferior communities. Repreſentatives immediately appeared from Myus and Priené, which were ſituate, like Miletus, on the coaſt of Caria; from Epheſus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomené, Erythræ, Phocæa, and Smyrna, which formed the maritime part of Lydia; and from the iſles of Chios and Samos, which completed the whole number of the Ionic ſettlements. CHAP. VIII. The Ionian confederacy.

Meanwhile the Eolians, alarmed by the ſame danger, convened in their ancient capital of Cymé. Their inferior towns were, Lariſſa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cilla, Notion, Æginoæſſa, Pitané, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grenéia. Their territory was more extenſive and more fertile than that of their Ionian rivals, but their climate leſs temperate [a], their harbours leſs commodious, and their cities far leſs conſiderable in power and fame. That of the Eolians.

It may ſeem extraordinary that the Dorians, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the peninſula of Caria, Of the Dorians.

[a] Herodotus's encomium on the climate of Ionia is remarkable: Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστι, τὰ μὲν ὡραῖα, καὶ τῶν ὡρέων, ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ τυγχάνον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλεας, πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: "These Ionians, to whom Panionium belongs, have built cities in the fineſt climate, and in the moſt beautiful ſituations, of all men whom we know." He then proceeds to obſerve, that the countries on all ſides of Ionia were oppreſſed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other. Herod. l. i. c. cxlii.

CHAP. VIII.

who were likewiſe deſtined to feel the Perſian power, ſhould not have joined in meaſures neceſſary for the common defence. But this circumſtance it is ſtill poſſible to explain. Of the ſix Doric republics, who annually aſſembled at Triopium to celebrate the feſtival of Apollo [1], four were encouraged, by their inſular ſituation, to contemn the threats of Cyrus. Cnidus, as will appear hereafter, hoped to derive from art the ſame advantages which its confederates, Cos, Lindus, Jaliſſus, and Camirus, enjoyed by nature. And Halicarnaſſus, the ſixth Dorian ſtate, as we are informed with a laudable impartiality, by a native of that city, had been recently excluded from the Triopian feſtival. This diſgrace was occaſioned by the ſordid avarice of Agaſicles the Halicarnaſſian, who having conquered in the Triopian games, carried away the tripod, which was the prize of his victory; whereas, according to an eſtabliſhed rule, he ought to have conſecrated it in the temple of Apollo. His ſacrilege deprived his country of the common benefits of the Dorian name [2].

Contraſt between the ancient and modern ſtate of Lower Aſia.

To enliven the dryneſs of geographical deſcription, eſſential, however, to the perſpicuity of the preſent narrative, we ſhould in vain turn our thoughts to the actual condition of the Aſiatic ſhore. Few veſtiges remain of the Doric and Eolic cities; and even the Ionic, which far ſurpaſſed them in magnificence and ſplendor, can ſcarcely be recognized by the learned and curious

[1] Three in the iſle of Rhodes, one in Cos.

[2] Herodot. l. i. c. cxliv.

traveller. Nothing now remains but the indelible impreſſions of nature; the works of men have periſhed with themſelves. The phyſical advantages of Lower Aſia continue nearly [1] the ſame now, as two thouſand years ago; but the moral condition of that country, compared to what it once was, is the ſilent obſcurity of the grave, contraſted with the vivid luſtre of active life. CHAP. VIII.

The Aſiatic Greeks, having examined the ſtate of their affairs, were fully ſenſible of their own weakneſs, compared with the ſtrength of the enemy. In forming their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, they had confined themſelves to a long and narrow line on the coaſt, looking with a wiſhful eye towards the mother-country, from which, in every calamity, they expected aſſiſtance and protection. The reſult, therefore, of the preſent deliberation was to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, in order to explain the danger to which they were expoſed, and to ſhow the neceſſity of powerful and timely aid. It might have been expected that Attica, the native country of the Ionians, ſhould have received the firſt viſit of the ambaſſadors; but Athens was then governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, who, it was ſuppoſed, would be averſe to take arms againſt a tyrant like himſelf. Sparta, though a republic of greater power and renown, was little connected, either by commerce or affinity, with the Greeks of Aſia. The propoſals of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors,

The Aſiatic Greeks ſend an embaſſy, craving aid, to the mother-country. Olymp. lviii. A. C. 540.

[1] The changes in the face of the country, produced chiefly by the receding of the ſea, may be ſeen in the ſplendid work of Monſ. Choiſeul Gouffier, Le Voyage pittoreſque de la Grèce, etc.

CHAP. VIII.

therefore, were very coolly received by the Spartan ſenate. On ſuch occaſions, however, it was cuſtomary to take the opinions alſo of the people. In the aſſembly convened for this purpoſe, Pythermus, a Phocæan, clothed with purple, as a mark of his conſideration in his native country, ſpoke for himſelf and his colleagues. But the beauties of his Ionic dialect were unable to move the reſolution of the Lacedæmonians, who, mindful of the ancient enmity between the Ionic and the Doric race, declined ſending any forces into Aſia, to reſiſt the arms of Cyrus. Though their generoſity furniſhed no public aſſiſtance, their caution privately diſpatched ſeveral Spartan citizens to obſerve the operations of the war. When theſe men arrived in Ionia, they were eaſily perſuaded to exceed the bounds of their commiſſion. They appointed Lacrines, the moſt conſiderable of their number, to travel to the Lydian capital, in order to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed hoſtilities againſt any of the Grecian cities, the Lacedæmonian republic would know how to puniſh his injuſtice. Cyrus, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an inſolent meſſage from a people altogether unknown to him, aſked the Greeks preſent (for there was always a great number of Grecian fugitives in the armies of their neighbours), who the Lacedæmonians were? and what number of men they could bring into the field? When informed of theſe particulars,

The Spartans remonſtrate with Cyrus againſt his deſign of ſubduing the Aſiatic Greeks.

* Herodotus leaves it uncertain whether this ignorance was not affected, the better to mark his contempt.

he

he replied to the Spartan ambaſſador, "That he never ſhould fear men who had a ſquare in the midſt of their city, in which they met together to practice mutual falſehood and deception[7]; and that if he continued to enjoy the bleſſings of health, he hoped to afford the Spartans more domeſtic reaſons of complaint, than his military preparations againſt the Greeks of Aſia."

CHAP. VIII. His anſwer to them.

The interview with Lacrines happened among the laſt public tranſactions during Cyrus's reſidence at Sardis. Having reduced Crœſus into captivity, the only enemy in thoſe parts who ſeemed worthy of his arms, he was eager to return towards the Eaſt, in order to complete his conqueſts in Upper Aſia. The Grecians he knew to be a warlike people; but as their numbers were inconſiderable, their cities ſmall, and ill fortified, he thought proper to attempt in perſon enterpriſes of greater renown, and to commit the Grecian war to the ſkill of his lieutenant, Harpagus[8].

His lieutenant Harpagus reduces all the countries of Lower Aſia. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

In the courſe of a few months, this general made himſelf maſter of all the countries of Lower Aſia, poſſeſſed by either Greeks or Barbarians. Having the command of men and labor, he cauſed mounds of earth to be thrown up, adjacent to the Grecian walls. In this ſervice, immenſe

[7] Cyrus alludes to the market-places, or public ſquares, common in all Grecian cities, with the uſe of which the Aſiatics were totally unacquainted, "being deſtitute," as Herodotus ſays, "of all places of public reſort."

[8] His predeceſſor, Mazares, died almoſt immediately after he had taken Priené and Magneſia, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Herodot. l. i. c. lxi.

CHAP. VIII.

numbers muſt have periſhed by the darts of the enemy; but the work was no ſooner completed, than the Perſians, running up the mounds, got poſſeſſion of the walls, drove the Greeks from their battlements, overpowered them from their own fortifications, entered, and ſacked their towns [a].

The Phocæans leave their country. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

When we conſider the fury with which the wars of the ancients were carried on, and reflect, that the immediate conſequences of a defeat were ſervitude or death, we have reaſon to believe that the Greeks would make a reſolute and bloody defence. This indeed ſufficiently appears, by the evidence of a few ſcattered facts preſerved in hiſtory. The firſt place which Harpagus attacked was the celebrated capital of the Phocæans, the moſt northern city of Ionia. The inhabitants, as already mentioned, were famous for their long and ſucceſsful navigations, in the courſe of which they had often viſited the coaſts of Spain, the Mexico and Peru of the ancient world. The money derived from that country had enabled them to build the beſt fortification that was to be ſeen in all thoſe parts; yet they entertained not any hopes of reſiſting the Perſian invaders. Such, however, was their love of liberty, and their dread of ſeeing in their ſtreets the army of a conqueror, that they reſolved on a meaſure which has been often propoſed, but ſeldom executed. When Harpagus ſent them his commands, they begged the favor of a day's pauſe for deliberation. In all probability they had already taken

[a] Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxii, clxiii, et ſeq.

many neceſſary meaſures for effecting their eſcape; for during that ſhort interval, their ſhips were prepared, their money and goods put on board, their wives and families embarked, and the whole community was floating on the waves, when the Perſians arrived to take poſſeſſion of deſolated dwellings and empty walls. The advantageous ſituation of Phocæa, and the pains which had been taken to improve and to embelliſh it, make this reſolution appear the more extraordinary; if any thing, at leaſt, can add to the wonder, that a whole people ſhould unanimouſly abandon their temples, their altars, and what in ancient times ſeemed not leſs ſacred, the tombs of their anceſtors; ſhould totally diveſt themſelves of every right to a country which they had been accuſtomed to call their own; and ſet ſail with their wives and children, ignorant whither to direct their courſe, or in what friendly port they might expect protection or repoſe[18].

Their adventures.

The Phocæan fleet, conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, made for the iſle of Chios, which, of all the Ionic ſettlements, ſeemed moſt ſecure againſt the Perſian arms. Having arrived there, they endeavoured to purchaſe from the Chians the ſmall Oenuſſian iſlands: But the Chians, jealous of their commerce, and knowing the adventurous ſpirit of the fugitives, denied their requeſt. The Phocæans, thus cruelly rejected by men of the ſame race and language with themſelves, ſet ſail on a

[18] Herodot. l. i. c. clxiv.

CHAP. VIII.

much longer voyage, for the isle of Cynus, or Corsica, where, about twenty years before, they had formed a small establishment. As they coasted, in the night, along the solitary shore of their ancient city, a few ships, manned with enterprising crews, landed in the harbour, surprised the Persian garrison, and put every man to the sword. After applauding this memorable act of revenge, the whole fleet, transported with fury against the Persians, bound themselves by mutual oaths never to return to Phocæa, until a burning ball of iron, which they threw into the sea, should again emerge unextinguished [11]. Yet such is the powerful attachment of men to their ancient habitations, that in a few hours, more than one half of the fleet, unable to resist the alluring prospect of their native shore, disregarded their oaths, and sailed for the well-known harbour. The destruction of the Persian garrison removed the only obstacle in the way of immediate possession; and the blame of this massacre might be thrown on their countrymen who fled, while those who returned to Phoctæa might prove their innocence, by speedily submitting to every burden imposed on them. Meanwhile, the best and bravest portion of the Phocæan republic arrived with safety at the island of Corsica; where, their subsequent adventures, not being immediately connected with our present subject, will merit attention in another part of this history [12].

Part of them return.

The Teians settle in Abdera.

The Phocæans were not the only people of Asiatic Greece who deserted their country, rather

[11] Herodot. l. i. c. clxv. [12] Idem. ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

than abandon their liberty. The Teians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Ionic peninſula, had not yet been ſoftened into cowardice by the effeminate muſe of Anacreon. They followed the generous example which the inhabitants of Phocæa had ſet; forſook a city in which they could no longer remain free, and ſought refuge in Abdera, an ancient colony of Clazomené, on the coaſt of Thrace, and near the mouth of the river Neſſus [13]. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

The city of Clazomené, now mentioned, was built on the continent; but on the preſent occaſion, the inhabitants, to avoid ſlavery, ſettled in eight ſmall iſlands, at a little diſtance from the ſhore, on which they founded a new city, the model of that of Venice. The advantage which the Clazomenians enjoyed by nature, the Cnidians endeavoured to procure by art. They occupied the extremity of the Carian peninſula; and their city being joined to the continent by an iſthmus of only half a mile broad, they attempted, by means of a ditch, to detach themſelves entirely from the main land. If this could be effected, they might deſpiſe the power of their enemies, who not having as yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, poſſeſſed not any naval force ſufficient to conquer the Grecian iſles. But the approach of the Perſians, and ſtill more their own ſuperſtitious fears, interrupted this uſeful undertaking; and the city of Cnidus, as well as all others on the Aſiatic coaſt, Miletus alone

Meaſures of the Clazomenians.

Of the Cnidians.

[13] Herodot. l. i. c. lxviii. et c. clxviii.

CHAP. VIII.

excepted, were reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion under the Perſian yoke.

Cyrus beſieges Babylon. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

While the arms of Harpagus were thus ſucceſsful on the weſtern ſhore, thoſe of Cyrus acquired ſtill greater glory in the central parts of Aſia [14]. With amazing rapidity his victorious troops over-ran the rich countries between the Mediterranean and the Tigris. Every thing gave way before their valor and their fortune. The city of Babylon alone, the ancient and proud capital of the Aſſyrian empire, oppoſed its lofty and impenetrable walls to the ambition of the conqueror. When all the countries round were reduced into obedience, it might ſeem abſurd in the inhabitants of one place to think of reſiſting the Perſian arms. But when we conſider the ſingular reſources of this place, we ſhall perceive, that a deſign which would have been obſtinate folly in any other citizens, was no more than proper firmneſs in the Babylonians. Their capital, which was celebrated for its magnificence, wealth, and magnitude, when nothing deſerving the name of capital exiſted elſewhere in the world, was ſituate in a ſpacious plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by broad and rapid rivers. The outward wall was of a firm quadrangular form, three hundred feet high, ſeventy-five broad, extending ſixty miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a deep ditch, continually ſupplied

[14] Xenophon's Cyropædia, and Herodotus, contain the materials for the reign of Cyrus, as far as it is connected with the hiſtory of Greece. It is foreign to the ſubject of the preſent work, to examine the differences between theſe authors.

with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark, of whoſe exiſtence the wall of China and the pyramids of Egypt can alone ſerve to convince modern incredulity, was another of almoſt equal dimenſions; and beſides both theſe general fortifications, each diviſion of the city had its appropriated mounds and defences. It is unneceſſary to deſcribe the towers, temples, and gardens, which by their ſingular greatneſs evidently announced the ſeat of a mighty empire. Theſe magnificent monuments tended, indeed, to adorn, but others, leſs ſplendid, ſerved to defend Babylon [11]. Theſe were magazines of corn and proviſions, capable of maintaining the inhabitants for twenty years; and arſenals, which ſupplied with arms ſuch a number of fighting men as ſeemed equal to the conqueſt or defence of a powerful monarchy. It was to be expected that Babylon would exert its utmoſt ſtrength, being then governed by Labynetus, or Belthazar, whoſe deſpotiſm, injuſtice, and impiety, exceeded even the crimes of his father Nebuchadnezzar, and left him no room to expect forgiveneſs from the clemency of Cyrus.

CHAP. VIII.

Takes the city by ſtratagem. Olymp. lx. 3. A. C. 538.

During two years Cyrus blocked up the city, without attaining any nearer proſpect of ſucceſs than when he firſt approached its walls. The events of this memorable ſiege are not related by ancient writers. We only know, that the efforts of the Perſians proved fruitleſs, until ſtrength was directed by ſtratagem. The river Euphrates

[11] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxix. et ſeq.

CHAP. VIII.

entered, by a deep channel, the northern walls of Babylon, and iſſuing forth from the oppoſite ſide, almoſt equally biſected the city. Of this circumſtance Cyrus availed himſelf to become maſter of the place. He employed his numerous army in digging a profound cavern adjacent to the lofty mound which confined the courſe of the river. This work being completed, he patiently waited an opportunity for cutting the mound, and thus turning the waters of the Euphrates into the prepared cavern; ſince if this could be done without being perceived by the enemy, his troops, ſtationed at the two paſſages of the Euphrates, in and out of the city, might enter Babylon by the channel which the river had abandoned. This deſign was happily executed, when the Babylonians, who had long deſpiſed the impotent efforts of the beſiegers, were employed in celebrating a feſtival with every circumſtance of the moſt licentious ſecurity. The mound of the Euphrates being divided, the higheſt waters deſerted their channel, the river became fordable, and the troops of Cyrus, who, had not the Babylonians been ſunk in riot and debauchery, might have been confined between the walls, and overwhelmed by darts from the battlements, made their entrance unperceived into the place; cut to pieces the unarmed inhabitants; and having puniſhed an impious king and his voluptuous courtiers, took poſſeſſion of the greateſt and richeſt city of the ancient world [26].

[26] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxviii. —c. cxcii.

CHAP. VIII.

This memorable event rendered Cyrus ſole maſter of thoſe valuable countries around the Tigris and Euphrates, which, from time immemorial, had been the ſeat of deſpotiſm and luxury, wealth and wickedneſs. The active ambition of this great prince was adopted by the emulation of his immediate ſucceſſors. His ſon Cambyſes received the ſubmiſſion of Tyre and Cyprus, and effected the important conqueſt of Egypt, in the conſequences of which the Greek colonies in that country, and on the adjoining coaſt of Africa, were involved.

Conqueſts of his ſucceſſor Cambyſes. Olymp. lxii. 4. A. C. 529. Olymp. lxiv. 1. A. C. 524.

In the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra, the adventurous colonies in Ionia and Caria had, amidſt other commercial, or rather piratical expeditions, undertaken a voyage to Egypt. Their brazen armor[17], their courage, and their activity, were beheld with amazement and terror by the Egyptians, then divided by faction, and torn by ſedition. Pſammetichus, one of the many pretenders to the throne, engaged the Greeks in his ſervice. Through their valor and diſcipline he became maſter of Egypt. His rewards and promiſes prevailed on them to ſettle in that country. They upheld the throne of his ſucceſſors, until Apries, the fourth in deſcent from Pſammetichus, having undertaken an unfortunate expedition againſt the Greek colony of Cyrene, was dethroned by Amaſis, the contemporary and ally of Crœſus[18].

Pſammetichus raiſed to the throne of Egypt by Greek pirates,

who ſettle in that country:

Amaſis rivalled the Lydian prince, in his partiality for the language and manners of the Greeks.

Are employed as the body-guard of his ſucceſſor Amaſis.

[17] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. et ſeq.

[18] Herodot. ibid. et Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.

CHAP. VIII.

He raiſed a Cyrenian woman to the honors of his bed. The Greeks who had ſerved his predeceſſors, and who, in conſequence of the Egyptian law, obliging the ſon to follow the profeſſion of his father, now amounted to near thirty thouſand, he removed to Memphis, his capital, and employed them as his body-guard. He encouraged the correſpondence of this colony with the mother-country; invited new inhabitants from Greece into Egypt; promoted the commercial intercourſe between the two nations; and aſſigned to the Greek merchants for their reſidence the town and diſtrict of Naucratis, on the Nile, where they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religious proceſſions and ſolemnities, and where the induſtry of the little iſland of Ægina in Europe, and the opulence of ſeveral Greek cities in Aſia, erected temples after the faſhion of their reſpective countries[19].

Cambyſes conquers Egypt. Olymp. lxiii. 4. A. C. 525.

This able prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus, ſoon after Cambyſes mounted the throne of Perſia. While Cambyſes made preparations for invading Egypt, Pſammenitus imprudently excited the reſentment of Phanes[20], a Halicarnaſſean by birth, and an officer of much authority in the Grecian guards. Phanes having dexterouſly effected his eſcape from Egypt, offered his ſervices to Cambyſes, who by this time had collected the Grecian and Phœnician fleets. This armament, however, ſeemed unequal to the conqueſt of Egypt; and to conduct an army thither by land, was an

[19] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. et ſeq. [20] Herodot. l. iii. c. iv. etc.

undertaking of extreme difficulty, The main obſtacle was overcome by the experience of Phanes. He adviſed Cambyſes to purchaſe the friendſhip of an Arabian chief, who agreed to tranſport on camels a ſufficient quantity of water for the uſe of the Perſians in their paſſage through the deſert. With the punctuality peculiar [21] to his nation, the Arabian fulfilled his engagement. The Perſian army joined the fleet before Peluſium; that place, regarded as the key of Egypt, ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege; Pſammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole kingdom ſubmitted to a haughty conqueror [22], whom proſperity rendered incapable of pity or remorſe. CHAP. VIII.

His cruel, outrageous, and almoſt frantic behaviour in Egypt, alarmed the neighbouring Africans, who ſought to avert the tempeſt from themſelves by ſpeedy offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute. This prudent meaſure was adopted even by the Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica, who had braved the united power of Egypt and Libya. The African Greeks were a colony of Thera, the moſt ſouthern iſland of the Ægean, and itſelf a colony of the Lacedæmonians [23]. During the heroic ages, but it is uncertain at what preciſe æra, the adventurous iſlanders ſettled in that part of the Sinus Syrticus, which derived its name from the principal city, Cyrene, and which is now loſt in the deſert of Barca. Deſcended from Lacedæmon,

The African Greeks pay tribute to Cambyſes.

Their hiſtory.

[21] Herodot. ibid.

[22] Idem, ibid.

[23] Herodot. l. iv. c. clix. et ſeq.

CHAP. VIII.

the Cyrenians naturally preſerved the regal form of government. Under Battus, the third prince of that name, their territory was well cultivated, and their cities populous and flouriſhing. Six centuries before the Chriſtian æra, they received a conſiderable acceſſion of inhabitants from the mother-country. Emboldened by this reinforcement, they attacked the neighbouring Libyans [24], and ſeized on their poſſeſſions. The injured craved aſſiſtance from Apries king of Egypt [25]. A confederacy was thus formed, in order to repreſs the incurſions, and to chaſtiſe the audacity of the European invaders. But the valor and diſcipline of Greece, though they yet feared to encounter the power of Cambyſes, and the renown of Perſia, always triumphed over the numbers and the ferocity of Africa [26]: nor did Cyrene become tributary to Egypt, till Egypt itſelf had been ſubdued by a Grecian king, and the ſceptre of the Pharaohs and of Seſoſtris had paſſed into the hands of the Ptolemies [27].

Darius Hyſtaſpes mounts the throne of Perſia. Olymp. lxiv. 4. A. C. 521.

Cambyſes is ſaid to have died by an accidental wound from his own ſword. Darius Hyſtaſpes, the third in ſucceſſion to the empire (for the ſhort reign of the prieſt Smerdis deſerves only to be mentioned in the hiſtory of the palace), poſſeſſed the political abilities, but reached not the magna-

[24] Herodot. l. iv. c. clix.

[25] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul l. i. c. xlvi.

[26] Herodot. ibid. et l. iii. c. clxi.

[27] Strabo, l. ii. et l. xvii. p. 836. Pauſan. l. i.

nimity, of Cyrus. His ambition was unbounded, and his avarice ſtill greater than his ambition. To diſcriminate the characters of the three firſt and moſt illuſtrious of their monarchs, the Perſians, in the expreſſive language of the Eaſt, ſtyled Cyrus the father, Cambyſes the maſter, or tyrant, and Darius the broker, of the empire. The laſt-mentioned prince added the wealthy, but unwarlike, nations of India to his dominions. This important acquiſition, which cloſed the long ſeries of Perſian conqueſts in Aſia, was formed into the twentieth ſatrapy, or great diviſion, of the empire. The other military enterpriſes of this prince (as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate) were leſs ſucceſsful. But his reign is chiefly remarkable, as the ſuppoſed æra at which the religious and civil polity of the Perſians received that form which they afterwards invariably retained. CHAP. VIII.

The ſuppoſed age of Zoroaſter.

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the greateſt learning and ingenuity have failed in the arduous taſk of aſcertaining the age, and ſtill more of explaining the doctrines, of Zoroaſter. At whatever period he lived, he certainly did for the Perſians, what Homer and Heſiod are ſaid to have done for the Greeks [28]. His theogony [29], as the Greeks would have called it, conſiſted in the extravagant doctrine of the two principles, in ſome moral precepts, and innumerable abſurd ceremonies. The magi, or prieſts, who probably derived ſome ſhare of their influence from practiſing

Religion of the Perſians.

[28] See above, p. 250. [29] Herodot. l. i. c. cxxii.

CHAP. VIII.

those occult sciences afterwards distinguished by their name, were strongly protected by the authority of the prophet. "Though your good works," says the Sadder, "exceed the sands on the sea-shore, or the stars of heaven, they will all be unprofitable, unless accepted by the priest, to whom you must pay tithes of all you possess, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. The priests are the teachers of religion, they know all things, and deliver all men." Next to the priests, the royal family, and particularly the reigning prince, was the peculiar care of Zoroaster. In their prayers and sacrifices, the Persians were not allowed to solicit individually for themselves the protection of heaven, but only for the great king, and for the nation at large. In celebrating their religious worship, they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of such practices in others, probably (says Herodotus) not believing, like the Greeks, the nature of the gods to resemble that of men. On the summits of the highest mountains they sacrificed to the divinity, and the whole circle of the heavens they called God. They sacrificed, besides, to the elements, particularly fire, which they considered as the purest symbol, and most powerful agent, of the Divine Nature. They borrowed, however, the worship of some other divinities from the Assyrians and Arabians; for of all ancient nations, the Persians, according to Herodotus, were the most disposed to adopt the customs of their neighbours. They soon

preferred the dreſs, and as an eſſential part of dreſs, the arms of the Medes to their own. When they became acquainted with the Greeks, they learned the worſt and moſt unnatural of their vices. There was ſcarcely any abſurdity, or any wickedneſs, which they might not imbibe, from the licentious caprice, the univerſal corruption, and the exceſſive depravity of Babylon. The hardy and intrepid warriors, who had conquered Aſia, were themſelves ſubdued by the vices of that luxurious city. In the ſpace of fifty-two years, which intervened between the taking of Babylon, and the diſgraceful defeat at Marathon, the ſentiments, as well as the manners of the Perſians, underwent a total change; and, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſimplicity of their religious worſhip, we ſhall find them thenceforth oppreſſed by the double yoke of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, whoſe combined influence extinguiſhed every generous feeling, and checked every manly impulſe of the ſoul[10].

CHAP. VIII. Their manners,

The tendence towards this internal decay was not perceived during the reign of Cyrus, whoſe extraordinary abilities enabled him to ſoften the rigors of deſpotiſm, without endangering his authority. He committed not the whole weight of government to the inſolence of ſatraps, thoſe proud ſubſtitutes of deſpotiſm, who were ever ready to betray their truſt, and abuſe their power. The inferior governors of towns and diſtricts were appointed and removed by himſelf, to whom only

under Cyrus.

[10] Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri, l. iii. p. 238—243.

CHAP. VIII.

they were accountable. By an inſtitution, ſomewhat reſembling the modern poſt, he provided for exact and ready information concerning the public occurrences in every part of his dominions. The vigilant ſhepherd of his people, he was always ready to hear their petitions, to redreſs their grievances, and to reward their merit. Nor did the love of eaſe or pleaſure ever interfere with the diſcharge of his duty, in which he placed the greateſt glory and happineſs of his reign.[31]

Under Darius. Olymp. lxv. 4. A. C. 517. Reſources and grandeur of that monarch.

His ſucceſſors were univerſally diſtinguiſhed by an exorbitant ambition, nouriſhed by the immenſe reſources of their empire, which under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Euboeic talents, a ſum equal to three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling. Of this vaſt revenue, which, conſidering the value of money in ancient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent, the Greek cities on the coaſt, together with the Carians, Lycians, and ſeveral other nations of Aſia Minor, paid only the thirty-ſixth part, a little more than a hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might on every neceſſary occaſion demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were contented with voluntary contributions, and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes, and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which

[31] Xenoph. ibid. p. 230.

compre-

comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth. The barbarity of the northern Scythians, and the pertinacious ſpirit of the Europeans Greeks, the only enemies whom it remained for him to conquer, ſeemed feeble barriers againſt the progreſs of univerſal monarchy. In the extenſive regions of Aſia, every head bowed to the tiara of the great king, who in annual progreſs through the central parts of his empire, ſpent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon, enjoyed the happy temperature of ſpring in the city of Suſa, which adorned the flowery banks of the Eulæus, and avoided the ſummer heats in his ſpacious palace at Ecbatan, fanned by the refreſhing breezes of the Median mountains [33].

But Darius could not enjoy the ſplendor of his preſent greatneſs, while a ſingle nation had merited his reſentment, without feeling the weight of his revenge. The wandering hordes of Scythia have been, in all ages, formidable to the civilized kingdoms of the Eaſt. Thrice before the reign of Darius the inhabitants of that frozen region had over-run the fineſt provinces of Aſia. Fighting againſt theſe barbarians, the founder of the Perſian empire had loſt his army and his life. It belonged to his warlike ſucceſſor to puniſh the ferocity of that rude and uncultivated, but bold and high-minded people. With an army, it is ſaid, of ſeven hundred thouſand men, Darius traverſed Aſia Minor, croſſed the Thracian Boſphorus,

His expedition into Scythia. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A. C. 513.

[33] Xenoph. ibid. et Herodot. l. iii. c. lxxxix. et ſeq.

CHAP. VIII. ravaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of six hundred sail left the Asiatic coast, and passing the narrow seas which join the Ægean to the Euxine, coasted in a northern direction the shores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and sailed along that river until they joined the army. The Danube was passed by the usual expedient of a bridge of boats, which was built by the assistance of the fleet, composed chiefly of Grecians, who were left to guard the work of their hands against the dangers of the elements, and the destructive rage of the Barbarians [31].

Under Darius. Olymp. lxv. 4. A. C. 507.

Loses great part of his army.

This formidable army, collected from so many distant provinces, boldly entered the vast uncultivated wilds of Scythia, in which they continued for five months, continually exposed to hunger and thirst, and the darts of the flying enemy. When they prepared to return from an expedition in which they had already lost the best part of their strength, their good fortune, rather than their prudence, saved them from immediate destruction. It had been agitated among the Greeks, whether they ought not to demolish the bridge; a measure strongly recommended to them by the Scythian tribes, who having ravaged all the adjacent country, expected to revenge the invasion of the Persians, by confining them, without resource, in an inhospitable desert. Miltiades, an Athenian, descended from the heroic Ajax, eagerly embraced this proposal.

[31] Herodot. l. iv. c. 1. et seq.

He was king, or tyrant of the city of Cardia, situate near the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. There his uncle, of the same name, planted a Grecian colony, which uniting with the barbarous natives, formed a small community, the government of which descended to the son of his brother Cimon, who increased the population of the rising state by new inhabitants from Athens. The generous son of Cimon, though, like all the princes of those parts, he held his authority under the protection of Darius, preferred the recovery of national independence to the preservation of personal dignity. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities listened with apparent pleasure to his arguments for destroying the bridge, and thus delivered themselves for ever from the yoke of Persia. Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averse to this bold resolution. He observed to the little tyrants of the Asiatic Greeks, "That their own interest was intimately connected with the safety of Darius and his Persians. Under the auspicious influence of that powerful people, they each of them enjoyed royalty in their respective commonwealths: but should the empire of the Persians fall, (and what less could be expected from the destruction of Darius and his army?) the Greeks would immediately discover their partiality for republican government, banish their kings, and reassume liberty." The opinion of Histiæus prevailed; the Persians repassed the Danube: but Miltiades, dreading their resentment, had previously retired to Athens, where, twenty-three years

CHAP. VIII.

Miltiades approves the advice of the Scythians for cutting off his retreat.

Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, opposes this measure.

His opinion prevails. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A. C. 513.

CH. X. PT. VIII.

after the Scythian expedition, he enjoyed a more favorable opportunity of displaying his attachment to the cause of liberty, in the ever memorable battle of Marathon [34].

He accompanies Darius to Upper Asia.

If the public-spirited Athenian excited the hatred and revenge, the selfish tyrant of Miletus deserved the gratitude and the rewards of Darius. To continue the sovereign of his native city seemed a station below his merit; he was taken into the confidence of Darius, and accompanying him to Sardis, and afterwards to Susa, became the friend, counsellor, and favorite of the great king. While Histiæus acted such a distinguished part at the Persian court, his nephew Aristagoras, to whom he had committed the government of Miletus, incurred the displeasure of Artaphernes [35], the brother of Darius, and governor of Sardis. The representations of that minister, he well knew, would be sufficient to ruin him, both with his uncle and with Darius, by whom he might be deprived not only of his authority, but of his life. Governed by these considerations, Aristagoras meditated a revolt [36], when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Histiæus, exhorting him to that measure. The crafty Milesian, who disliked

[34] Herodot. l. iv. c. 1. et seq.

[35] Aristagoras had quarrelled with Megabates, the kinsman of Artaphernes (since both were of the blood royal), during a fruitless expedition, in which they seem to have enjoyed a joint command, against the island of Naxos, one of the Cyclades. Herodot. l. ii. c. xxviii. et seq.

[36] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

the reſtraint of a court, and the uncouth manners of the Perſians, languiſhed for an honorable pretence to return to his native country; and he ſaw not any means more proper for affording ſuch an opportunity, than the tumults of the Greeks, which, as lieutenant of Darius, he would probably be ſent to quell. His meſſage confirmed the reſolution of Ariſtagoras, who, as the firſt act of rebellion againſt the Perſians, formally renounced all power over his fellow-citizens [37]. After giving this ſeemingly diſintereſted proof of his regard for the public, he erected the ſtandard of freedom, which was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he aboliſhed in every city the authority of kings, and proclaimed to all worthy to acquire it, the double bleſſing of civil liberty and national independence [38].

CHAP. VIII.

His intrigues with Ariſtagoras. Olymp. lxix. 3. A. C. 508.

who excites the Ionians to revolt from the Perſian government.

The revolt thus happily effected, could not however be maintained without more powerful reſources than the ſtrength, the bravery, and the enthuſiaſm of the Aſiatic Greeks. In order to reſiſt the force of the Perſian empire, which, it was eaſy to foreſee, would ſoon be exerted in cruſhing their rebellion, it was neceſſary for the Ionians to obtain the protection and co-operation of their brethren in Europe. This important object was committed to the prudence and activity of Ariſtagoras, who having ſettled the affairs of the

Sails to Greece to crave aſſiſtance.

[37] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii. [38] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxviii.

CHAP. VIII.

His proceedings at Sparta.

East, undertook, for the public ſervice, an embaſſy into Greece.

Lacedæmon ſtill continued, rather in name, however, than in reality, the moſt powerful ſtate in that country. Though their government was, in ſtrict language, of the republican kind, yet the Spartans ſometimes beſtowed an extraordinary authority on their kings. This degree of preeminence, more honorable than any that birth or fortune can beſtow, the public eſteem had conferred on Cleomenes. To him therefore Ariſtagoras, after arriving at Sparta, found it neceſſary to apply [59]; and in order to effect the object of his commiſſion, he deſcribed to the Spartan king the immenſe wealth of the Perſians, which they had neither virtue to enjoy, nor valor to defend. He painted in the warmeſt colors, the love of liberty which animated the Ionians, and their firm expectation that the Spartans would enable them to maintain that political independence, which their own laws taught them to conſider as the moſt valuable of all human poſſeſſions. Their intereſt and their glory, he obſerved, were on this occaſion moſt fortunately united: for how much greater glory might be acquired by conquering Aſia, than by ravaging Greece? and how much eaſier would it be to defeat the Perſian archers, than to ſubdue the Arcadians or Argives, who knew, as well as the Spartans themſelves, the uſe of the ſpear and buckler? Their journey to Suſa, the rich capital

[59] Herodot. l. v. c. xlix. et ſeq.

of the Perſian dominions, would be not only ſafe but delightful. To prove this, he ſhowed the Spartan a brazen tablet, on which, it is ſaid, were engraved all the countries, ſeas, and rivers, of the ancient world. Pointing to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the cities of the Ionians, with which Cleomenes was already acquainted, he ſhowed him adjoining to theſe, the beautiful and rich country of Lydia. Next to the celebrated kingdom of Cræſus (he obſerved) extend the fertile fields of Phrygia, equally adapted to agriculture and paſturage. Beyond Phrygia lie the territories of the Capadocians, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Farther towards the eaſt dwell the wealthy Cilicians, who pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king; next to them live the Armenians, abounding in cattle; and laſt of all the Matienians, bordering on the province of Ciſſia, and the flowery banks of the Choaſpes [40], containing the ſuperb city of Suſa, and the invaluable treaſury of Darius. This immenſe ſpace is filled by well-inhabited countries, interſected by excellent roads, and ſupplied at proper diſtances with convenient places of refreſhment and accommodation, even for a great army. Cleomenes having patiently liſtened to the verboſe deſcription of the Mileſian, anſwered him with Laconic brevity, "In three days I will decide concerning the propriety of your demand." At the expiration of that time, Ariſtagoras failed not to repair to the place appointed, where he was

CHAP. VIII.

[40] Otherwiſe called the Eulæus, as above, p. 353.
[41] Herodot. ibid.

C. H. A. P. VIII.

soon met by the Spartan king, who asked him, In how many days they might march to Susa? Here the usual prudence of Aristagoras forsook him; for he ought not to have told the true distance, says Herodotus, if he had wished to engage the Spartans to accompany him. But he replied unguardedly, That travelling at the rate of about eighteen miles a day, they might reach Susa in three months. Upon this Cleomenes exclaimed with indignation, "Milesian stranger, you must be gone from Sparta before the setting of the sun; for you have made a very inauspicious and a very dangerous proposal, in advising the Spartans to undertake a journey of three months from the Grecian sea." With this severe reprimand he left Aristagoras, and immediately returned home. The artful Milesian, however, was not to be disconcerted by a first refusal. According to the custom of ancient times, when men endeavoured to paint to the eye the feelings of the heart, he clothed himself in the garment of a suppliant, and sought protection in the house of Cleomenes. Having obtained the favor of a third audience, he attempted to effect by money what he could not accomplish by argument. But he found it as difficult to bribe, as it had been to persuade, the Spartan; and although he tempted him with the offer of above five thousand pounds (an immense sum in Greece in those days), it was impossible to render Cleomenes propitious to his design[62].

His overtures rejected there.

[62] Herodot. l. v. c. li.

CHAP. VIII.

He applies to Athens.

Ariſtagoras, thus ungenerouſly diſmiſſed from Sparta, had recourſe to the Athenians, from whom he had reaſon to expect a more favorable reception. Athens was the mother-country of the Ionians, who formed the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed portion of the Aſiatic Greeks. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connexion than the Spartans with their diſtant colonies; and as they poſſeſſed, for that early age, a very conſiderable naval ſtrength, they were not averſe to a diſtant expedition. Beſides theſe reaſons, which at all times muſt have had no ſmall influence on their councils, the preſent ſituation of their republic was peculiarly favorable to the cauſe of Ariſtagoras. The free form of government, gradually introduced by the progreſſive ſpirit of liberty, had been defined by the laws of Solon, and confirmed by the unanimous approbation of the whole people. The public aſſembly, conſiſting of all citizens who had attained the age of manhood, was inveſted with the executive, as well as the legiſlative powers of government. The nine archons were rather the miniſters, than, as their name denotes, the governors of the republic. The ſenate, conſiſting firſt of four, and afterwards of five, hundred members, was conſtituted by lot, the moſt popular mode of appointment. The court of the Areopagus, originally intruſted with the criminal juriſdiction, aſſumed an extenſive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens. It conſiſted only of ſuch magiſtrates as had diſcharged with approbation the duties of their

Conſtitution of that republic, as regulated by Solon. Olymp. xlvi. 3. A. C. 594.

CHAP. VIII.

respective offices. The members were named for life; and as, from the nature of the institution, they were persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, their characters admirably fitted them for restraining the impetuous passions of the multitude, and for stemming the torrent of popular frenzy. Such was the government [1] enjoyed by the Athenians, which they fondly regarded as the most perfect of all human institutions, and which was peculiarly endeared to them at present, by the recent recovery of freedom, after a long, though, in general, not a cruel tyranny.

Usurpation of Pisistratus. Olymp. l. 3. A. C. 578.

The danger of tyranny is an evil necessarily attending every democratical republic, in which, as there is not a proper separation between the legislative and executive powers, the assembly must often intrust to one man those functions of government, which the collective body of the people are sometimes unable, and always ill qualified to exercise; and in which, therefore, the splendor of wealth may dazzle, the charms of eloquence may seduce, and the combined power of policy and prowess may

[1] I forbear treating fully of the Athenian government and laws, until the establishment of what was called the Athenian empire. During more than sixty years, that republic maintained dominion over many hundred cities and colonies. The fate of all these, as well as the measures of independent and hostile states, depended on the proceedings of the Athenians. Then, and not till then, a thorough acquaintance with the internal constitution and state of Athens will become necessary for explaining the historical transactions which we shall have occasion to record.

CHAP. VIII.

intimidate and ſubdue the unſteady minds of the ignorant vulgar. The fame of his Olympic victories could not procure for Cylon [44] the ſovereignty of Athens; and it is probable that many other unſucceſsful candidates had aſpired at this high object of ambition, before the arts and eloquence of Piſiſtratus, who, though born an Athenian citizen, was deſcended of the blood of ancient kings, obtained poſſeſſion of the dangerous prize, which proved fatal to his family.

What his enterpriſing ability had acquired, his firmneſs, his wiſdom, and his moderation [45] enabled him long to maintain. So completely was his authority eſtabliſhed, that on his death the government deſcended, as a private inheritance, to his ſon. Reſentment of a perſonal injury [46] delivered the Athenians from the mild tyranny [47] of Hipparchus; though his murderers, Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, were afterwards celebrated by the Athenians, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the reſtorers of public freedom [48]. His

Expulſion of Hippias. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A. C. 510.

[44] Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxvi. Plut. in Solon.

[45] Plato in Hipparch. Herodot. Thucydid. i. 20. Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

[46] In this circumſtance Plato agrees with Thucydides, whoſe account of the tranſaction differs widely from that of moſt other ancient writers. Thucydid. l. vi.

[47] Plato, p. 234. The orators Andocides and Iſocrates agree with the philoſopher. Meurſius has made a careful collection of all the paſſages relating to the Piſiſtratidæ, in his Piſiſtratus.

[48] Αιεν σθων κλεος εσσεται κατ' αιαν
Φιλτατε Αρμοδιε και Αριστογειτων
Οτι τον τυραννον κτανετον
Ισονομους τ' Αθηνας εποιησατην. ALCÆUS.

CHAP. VIII.

brother Hippias ſucceeding to the throne, treated his countrymen with a degree of ſeverity which they had not hitherto experienced: his perſon and his government became alike odious; he was expelled, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and the general indignation of an injured people, after his family had, with various interruptions, governed Athens ſixty-eight years.

A. C. 578 — 510. Rapid ſucceſs of the Athenians after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy. A. C. 509 — 504.

The power of Athens was great in ancient times; but it became incomparably greater after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy [1]. So advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty, even in its leaſt perfect form, that in a few years after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, painful to their rivals, and even dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Ægina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which rivalled them in military glory. Favored, as they fondly believed, by the protection of their tutelary Minerva, and animated as they ſtrongly felt, by the poſſeſſion of an equal freedom, they adorned their

[1] "Your glory ſhall laſt for ever, moſt beloved Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, becauſe you ſlew the tyrant, and procured equal laws for Athens."

[1] This obſervation, which is literally tranſlated, has weight, from ſuch an old and honeſt hiſtorian as Herodotus. His words are ſtill ſtronger in another paſſage: Δηλοι δε κ κατα ἑν μουον αλλα πανταχη ἡ ισηγορια ὡς εϛι χρημα σπουδαιον, ει και Αθηναιοι τυραννευομενοι μεν, ουδαμων των σφεας περιοικεοντων ησαν αμεινες, απαλλαχθεντες δε τυραννων, μακρῳ πρωτοι εγενοντο. Herodot. l. v. c. lxxviii.

capital with the richeſt ſpoils of their vanquiſhed enemies. Their influence ſoon extended over the northern parts of Greece; and the fame of their power, ſtill greater than their power itſelf, alarmed the fears and jealouſy of the Peloponneſians. The Spartans, in particular, who had aſſiſted them in reſtoring the democracy, now perceived the error of which they had been guilty, in promoting the greatneſs of an ambitious rival. In order to prevent [50] the dangerous conſequences of their folly, they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies

CHAP. VIII.

Jealouſy of the Peloponneſians.

[50] Beſides this principal reaſon, the Spartans, and particularly their king Cleomenes, had private grounds for quarrel with the Athenians. The Alcmæonidæ, a powerful family, and rivals of the Piſiſtratidæ, had been banished Athens during the uſurpation of the latter. Having repeatedly tried, without ſucceſs, to return by force, they at length had recourſe to ſtratagem. The temple of Delphi having been deſtroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons for rebuilding it; and inſtead of employing Poriné ſtone, agreeably to their contract, they built the whole front of Parian marble. This generoſity gained them the good-will of the Amphictyons; bribery procured them the favor of the Pythia, or rather of the directors of the oracle; and the Lacedæmonians were commanded by Apollo to deliver Athens from tyrants. This was effected by Cleomenes, who, upon diſcovering the fraud, was moved with great reſentment againſt Cliſthenes, the principal of the Alcmæonidæ, by whom he and his country had been ſo ſhamefully deceived. He therefore united with Iſagoras, the rival of Cliſthenes. The latter, together with his partiſans, were again banished from Athens. But the Athenians perceiving it to be the intention of the prevailing faction to eſtabliſh an oligarchy, flew to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras took refuge in the citadel. On the third day they ſurrendered on capitulation. The Lacedæmonians were allowed to retire in ſafety. Iſagoras was banished; many of his partiſans executed; and the Alcmæonidæ, headed by Cliſthenes, again returned in triumph. From this time democracy, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, continued, with ſhort interruptions, to prevail in Athens. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv. et ſeq. Thucyd. l. vi. c. lviii.

CHAP. VIII.

A. C. 504.

in Peloponnesus, that their united wisdom might concert proper measures for resisting, ere it was too late, the encroachments of the Athenians, which threatened the liberties of all Greece. Their allies readily obeyed the welcome summons, and the deputies of the several states having assembled in the Spartan forum, eagerly listened to the speakers appointed to explain the intentions of that republic. The Lacedæmonian orators acknowledged the mistaken policy of their country, in expelling from Athens the family of Pisistratus, and delivering the government of that city into the hands of a most ungrateful populace, who had since treated them with much indignity. "But why (they proceeded) should we relate private injuries? Have they not insulted all their neighbours? Does not their pride daily increase with their power? and is there not reason to dread, that their growing ambition may endanger, and at length destroy, the public safety? In order to prevent this evil, we have recalled Hippias from banishment. And let us, therefore, by our united efforts, reinstate the son of Pisistratus in that power and authority of which we most injudiciously deprived him."

Their design of restoring Hippias proves abortive.

The speech of the Lacedæmonians produced not the intended effect. The Peloponnesians, however jealous of the Athenian greatness, were still more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtiness of Sparta, were not dissatisfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern division of Greece. The other deputies expressed their dissent by silent

disapprobation; but Socicles, the Corinthian, declared his sentiments at great length, in a speech which alike marks the manly character of the age, and the youthful vigor of Grecian eloquence. "Then surely, Lacedæmonians, will the heavens sink below the earth, and the earth rise sublime in the air; men will inhabit the depths of the sea, and fishes will take possession of the land, when you, formerly the bulwarks of liberty, shall demolish the popular governments of Greece, and establish tyrannies in their room, than which nothing can be more unjust, or more pernicious." After this pompous exordium, the Corinthian proceeded to describe and exaggerate the calamities which his own countrymen had suffered from the usurpation of Cypselus, and his son Periander. Having related, at great length, the proud, cruel, and despotic actions of those princes, "Such," added he, "are the genuine fruits of absolute power; but I adjure you by the Grecian gods! attempt not to re-establish it in Athens. The Corinthians were seized with astonishment, when they heard that you had sent for Hippias; I myself was amazed at beholding him in this assembly; yet we never suspected that you purposed to restore him, in triumph, to his much-injured city. If you still persist in this fatal resolution, know that the Corinthians disavow all part in a design equally unjust and impious[a]." The other deputies listened with pleasure to the boldness of Socicles, who

[a] Herodot. l. v. c. xciii.

CHAP. VIII. A. C. 504.

expreſſed the ſentiments which they themſelves felt, but which their reſpect for the Lacedæmonians obliged them to conceal. Hippias alone oppoſed the general voice of the aſſembly, atteſting the ſame gods which his opponent had invoked, and propheſying, that at ſome future time the Corinthians would repent their preſent conduct and regret their cruel injuſtice to the ſon of Piſiſtratus, when their own citizens, as well as the reſt of Greece, ſhould fatally experience the dangerous ambition of Athens. This remonſtrance, which was ſo fully juſtified in the ſequel, produced no immediate effect in the aſſembly. The Lacedæmonians finally yielded to the general requeſt of their confederates, and abſtained from their intended innovation in the government of a Grecian city.

Artaphernes commands the Athenians to reinſtate Hippias. Olymp. lxix. 4. A. C. 501.

The dethroned prince, finding his cauſe univerſally abandoned by the Greeks, ſought the protection of Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis. Having acquired the confidence of this magiſtrate, he repreſented to him the inſolence, ingratitude, and perfidy of his countrymen, and the ſevereſt reproaches with which he loaded their character, gained ready belief with the Perſian. The Athenians, who were informed of theſe intrigues, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, in order to counteract them: but the reſolution of Artaphernes was already taken; and he told the ambaſſadors, that if they conſulted their ſafety, and would avoid the reſentment of Perſia, they muſt reinſtate Hippias in the throne of his father. His anſwer had been

been reported to the Athenians, and the assembly had finally resolved to oppose the power of the greatest empire upon earth, rather than admit within their walls the declared enemy of their liberties [52].

CHAP. VIII.

Aristagoras arrives in Athens. Olymp. lxx. 1. A. C. 508.

Precisely at this juncture Aristagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and solicited the assistance of the Athenians, in defending their own colonies against the oppressive violence of the common foe. Many arguments were not necessary to make the people of Athens adopt a measure which gratified their own passions. The eloquent Milesian, however, described the wealth and extent of Persia, the grandeur and populousness of its cities, and, above all, the slothful effeminacy and pusillanimous weakness of their inhabitants, who, unable to support the ponderous shield, or to poize the manly lance, invited, as an easy prey, the victorious arms of a more warlike invader. The speech of Aristagoras was well fitted to excite the ambition and avarice of Athens. The assembly immediately decreed that assistance should be sent to Ionia. Twenty ships were fitted out with all convenient speed, which, reinforced by five more belonging to Eretria, a town of Eubœa, rendezvoused in the harbour of Miletus [53].

The Athenians send twenty ships to assist their colonies.

Measures of the confederates. Olymp. lxx. 1, A. C. 500.

Aristagoras spent not long time in his embassy to the other states of Greece, and soon met his Athenian allies at the place appointed. It was here

[52] Herodot. ibid. c. xcvi.

[53] Herodot. l. v. c. xcvii.

CHAP. VIII.

determined, that while the commander in chief regulated the civil affairs of the Ionians, his brother Charopinus ſhould conduct a military expedition againſt the wealthy capital of Lydia. The Athenians, deſirous of teſtifying their reſentment againſt the common enemy, and ſtill more deſirous of plunder, eagerly engaged in this undertaking. The united fleets left the harbour of Miletus, and ſailed to Epheſus, where the troops were diſembarked; and, in three days, accompliſhing a journey of ſeventy miles, appeared before the walls of Sardis. The Perſian governor little expected ſuch a viſit; his ſoldiers were not prepared to take the field; and the extenſive walls of the city could not be defended, on all ſides, againſt the beſiegers. Artaphernes, therefore, contented himſelf with defending the citadel; while the Greeks, without oppoſition, entered Sardis, in order to plunder the accumulated wealth of that ancient capital. But an accident prevented them from reaping the fruits of their ſucceſs. The reſentment of a rapacious ſoldier, diſappointed of his prey, ſet fire to the houſe of a Lydian, ſituate on the ſkirts of the town, which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of very combuſtible materials, the houſes being all roofed, and many of them walled with cane; a mode of building doubly dangerous in that aduſt climate. The flames readily communicated from one houſe to another; and, in a ſhort time, the whole circumference of the place was ſurrounded with a wall of fire. Sardis was built in the Grecian, not

They take and burn Sardis.

in the eaſtern faſhion [54], having, on the banks of the Pactolus, which interſected the town, a ſpacious ſquare, which commonly ſerved for the market-place [55]. Thither the Perſians, driven from the extremities, betook themſelves for refuge againſt the fury of the flames. CHAP. VIII.

Arms formed part of the dreſs of Barbarians [56], and the Perſians, who had aſſembled in the ſquare without any intention of making defence, diſcovered their own ſtrength to be more than ſufficient to reſiſt the enemy. Meanwhile the flames of Sardis brought the inhabitants from all parts of Lydia to their aſſiſtance. The Greeks were attacked, repelled, obliged to abandon their booty; and it was not without much difficulty that they effected their eſcape. Their retreat from Sardis was ſtill more rapid than their march thither. It then appeared, that the taking and burning of the Lydian capital was no more than a ſtroke of military addreſs, which ſucceeded, becauſe unforeſeen, and of which the Greeks had not ſufficient ſtrength to avail themſelves. The enemy collecting their whole force, purſued them to Epheſus, and defeated them with great ſlaughter, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the Athenians. The Eubœan auxiliaries alſo behaved with uncommon ſpirit, headed by their countryman Eualcides, whoſe Olympic victories had been highly extolled

Are defeated in their retreat.

[54] We have already obſerved, that the Perſians had not any Forum, or place of public reſort.

[55] Herodot. l. v. c. ci. et ſeq. [56] Thucydid. in proem.

CHAP. VIII.

in the verſes of Simonides, and whoſe death on this occaſion was long and deeply regretted.

Subſequent conduct of the confederates.

Bad fortune is commonly attended with diſſenſions in a confederate army. The allies threw the blame on each other, and the Athenians returned home in diſguſt, determined no longer to endanger [17] themſelves for the ſake of men who employed ſo little wiſdom or valor in their own defence. The Ionians, though deſerted by their allies, and defeated by the enemy at land, carried on the war vigorouſly by ſea. Sailing northwards, they reduced Byzantium, and all the neighbouring cities on the Helleſpont, or Propontis. Their fleet then directed its courſe to Caria, and having become maſter of the moſt conſiderable portion of that coaſt, defeated the Phœnicians off the iſle of Cyprus.

Vigorous meaſures of the Perſians for cruſhing the rebellion.

The military ſucceſs of the Perſians engaged them, on the other hand, to proſecute the war by land; and their ſubſequent operations diſcovered ſuch a degree of prudence and courage, as they ſeem never to have exerted on any future occaſion. In order the more ſpeedily to quaſh the hopes of the inſurgents, they formed their numerous army into three diviſions, allotting to each its particular department. After theſe ſeparate brigades had reduced the ſmaller cities of the Eolians, Dorians, and Ionians, the three great branches of the Hellenic race, it was concerted, that they ſhould re-aſſemble in one body, to attack Miletus, which was regarded as the centre of rebellion; and

[17] Herodot. ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

which, though properly an Ionic city, was conſidered, on account of its great ſtrength and importance, rather as the metropolis of the whole country, than as the capital of a particular province. This plan, ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into execution by three ſons-in-law of Darius, Hymees, Dauriſes, and Otanes; the firſt of whom reduced the Eolian cities; the ſecond conquered the Dorians, as well as the other inhabitants of Caria [58], while Otanes, aſſiſted by the counſels and bravery of Artaphernes, overran the Ionic coaſt, burning and deſtroying all before him. The miſerable natives were put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity; the more fortunate eſcaped theſe calamities, by flying to their ſhips, or taking refuge within the lofty walls of Miletus [59].

The time now approached for attacking that place, which, as its harbour commanded the coaſt, it was neceſſary to inveſt by ſea and land. We might, on this occaſion, expect to find Ariſtagoras, the prime mover of the rebellion, diſplaying the fertile reſources of his genius; but before Miletus was beſieged, Ariſtagoras was no more. The perfidious Ionian, who had perſuaded, not only his own countrymen, but all the Aſiatic, and many of the European Greeks, that the public ſafety

They beſiege Miletus. Olymp. lxxi. 3. A. C. 494.

Ariſtagoras flies to Thrace;

[58] After the conqueſt ſeemed complete, Dauriſes was ſurpriſed and ſlain by Heraclides, a general of the Carians. But this diſaſter had no effect on the general fortune of the war. Herod. l. v. c. cvi.

[59] Herodot. l. v. c. cvi. cvii. et ſeq.

CHAP. VIII.

was the ſole object of his concern, had never probably any other end in view but the ſucceſs of his own ſelfiſh deſigns. When Cymé and Clazomené, two neighbouring towns of Ionia, had ſurrendered to the Perſians, he thought it time to provide, by a ſpeedy retreat, for his perſonal ſafety; and abandoning, in its greateſt need, a country which he had involved in all the calamities of war, he fled, with his numerous partiſans, to an obſcure corner of Thrace, ſituated beyond the reach, both of the Perſians, from whom he had revolted, and of the Grecians, whom he had betrayed. But while he endeavoured to ſecure his eſtabliſhment there, he provoked, by his cruelty, the deſpair of the natives, and, together with the companions of his perfidy, periſhed miſerably by the hands of thoſe fierce Barbarians, who thus revenged what happened to be, for once, the common cauſe of Greece and Perſia[69].

He is ſlain there.

About this time Hiſtiæus, the Mileſian, the kinſman and friend of Ariſtagoras, arrived from Suſa, commiſſioned by Darius to direct, by his experienced wiſdom and perfect knowledge of the country, the valor and activity of the Perſian generals. The birth, the education, the manners of this ſingular man, together with the ſtrong partiality of every Greek in favor of his native land, might have afforded good reaſon to the Perſian king to ſuſpect his fidelity; he indeed ſuſpected it; but the artful addreſs, the warm pro-

The intrigues of Hiſtiæus.

[69] Herodot. l. v. c. cxxiv. cxxv. cxxvi.

CHAP. VIII.

feſſions, the ſubtle inſinuation of Hiſtiæus, eaſily overcame every prejudice which his ſituation and character made it natural to conceive againſt him. He was ſent to aſſiſt the army of Darius, his benefactor, in cruſhing the Grecian rebellion; but his real intention was to take upon himſelf the conduct of that rebellion, and to raiſe his own greatneſs on the ruins of the Perſian power. As he paſſed to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, his intrigues produced a conſpiracy at Sardis, which, being diſcovered by the vigilance of Artaphernes, ended in the deſtruction of his accomplices. Hiſtiæus made a ſeaſonable retreat to the Ionian ſhore [61], where he hoped to be received with open arms by his ancient friends. But the Mileſians, remembering his former tyranny, and the recent baſeneſs of his nephew Ariſtagoras, ſhut their gates againſt him. He ſought admiſſion into Chios, but without better ſucceſs. The Leſbians, with much difficulty, lent him eight veſſels, which he employed againſt the enemy in the Euxine; but he was taken by the Perſians, and crucified at Sardis, having performed nothing ſufficient to change the fortune of a war, which had been undertaken by his advice, and fomented by his ambition [62].

His death.

Meanwhile the Perſian fleet and army ſurrounded the walls of Miletus. We are not informed of the exact number of their land forces, which, conſiſting of all the united garriſons in thoſe parts, muſt have greatly exceeded any ſtrength which the much

The ſiege of Miletus continued.

[61] Herodot. l. vi. c. ii. et ſeq.

[62] Herodot. ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

exhauſted Greeks could bring into the field. Their fleet, compoſed of Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, amounted to ſix hundred ſail; beſides a conſiderable naval force belonging to the iſle of Cyprus, which, having co-operated during one year with the Ionian inſurgents, had recently ſubmitted to Darius. In order to deliberate concerning the means of oppoſing this mighty armament, the Grecians aſſembled in the Panionian council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, that no attempt ſhould be made to reſiſt the Perſians by land: the citizens of Miletus alone were exhorted to defend their walls to the laſt extremity, under the conduct of Pythagoras, a perſon of great rank and eminence in that republic. While every effort ſhould be exerted for maintaining this ſtrong hold of Ionia, it was determined that the Grecian fleet, the laſt and only hope of the nation, ſhould aſſemble at the ſmall iſland of Ladé, lying off the harbour of Miletus, and offer battle to that of the Perſians[91]. When all their forces were collected at the appointed rendezvous, they amounted to three hundred and fifty-three ſhips, which, containing, each at a medium, a complement of above two hundred men, made the whole amount to a number ſufficiently reſpectable, and which, had they all remained firm and unanimous in the common cauſe, might, perhaps, have ſtill rendered them victorious. Such, at leaſt, was the opinion of the Perſian commanders, who, when informed of the

The Grecians determine to defend it to the laſt extremity;

and to oppoſe the enemy by ſea.

[91] Herodot. l. vi. c. vi. et ſeq.

strength of the Grecian fleet, despaired of conquering it by open force, and endeavoured to effect by policy, what they could not accomplish by valor. Calling together the Ionian tyrants, who, after being expelled their dominions by Aristagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and actually followed the standard of Darius, they represented to those banished princes, that now was the time to show their attachment to the service of the great king. For this purpose they were instructed, each of them, to persuade, by message or a personal interview, the subjects whom he had formerly commanded, to desert the Grecian confederacy; to acquaint them, that if they complied with this proposal, their houses and temples should be spared, while those of their more obstinate allies would be destroyed by the flames; that their republics should be treated with great lenity, and even received into favor, while their countrymen who resisted, would inevitably be reduced into servitude; their youth disgraced by castration; their virgins transported to Bactria, to satisfy the lust of Barbarians; and their country, which contained every thing once dear to them, their temples, their statues, their oracles, and the tombs of their ancestors, bestowed on some more deserving and less rebellious people. B. C. 479. A. R. VIII.

The Persians attempt to dissolve them,

These insidious representations, however, produced not any immediate effect. Each community, believing that they alone were solicited to abandon the common cause, scorned, on account of their private advantage, to desert the general interest of

without immediate effect.

CHAP. VIII.

the confederacy, and next day they called a council of war, to consider of the means proper, not for appeasing the wrath, but for resisting the arms, of the Persians.

The advice of Dionysius the Phocæan,

In this council, where no distinction of persons prevailed, every individual had full liberty to propose his opinion. That of Dionysius, a Phocæan, met with the approbation of the assembly. "Our "fortunes," said he, "O Ionians! stand on a "needle's point. We must either vindicate our "liberty, or suffer the ignominious punishment of "fugitive slaves. If we refuse present labor "and danger, we shall be exposed to eternal dis-"grace; but the toils of a few days will be com-"pensated by a life of freedom, of glory, and of "happiness. Submit, therefore, to my direction, "and I will pledge my life, that, if the gods de-"clare not against us, the enemy will either de-"cline the engagement, or, engaging, be shame-"fully defeated." The Greeks, consenting to submit to the discipline of Dionysius, he, every day, arranged the fleet in three divisions: towards the east extended the right wing, consisting of eight ships of the Milesians; twelve belonging to Priené, and three, which formed the whole strength of the small republic of Myus. The centre consisted of an hundred prime sailors, furnished by the Chians, seventy from Lesbos, and a few ships, sent by the little cities of Erythræa, Phocæa, and Teios. The Samians alone, with sixty sail, formed the left wing to the westward.

CHAP. VIII.

In ancient times the ſucceſs of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers, and the ſkill of the pilots, whoſe object it always was to dart, with great violence, the ſharp beak or prow of their own ſhips, againſt the ſides of the enemy. Sometimes at one ſtroke, more frequently by repeated aſſaults, while they themſelves, with wonderful dexterity, eluded ſuch a ſhock, they ſhattered or ſunk the veſſel of their opponents. By their continual exerciſe in navigation, the Greeks had acquired ſuch proficiency in managing their gallies, that their movement depending, not on the external impulſe of the wind, but on the active principle within, reſembled the rapid motion of a fiſh in its native element. Conſtant practice, however, was neceſſary to maintain this ſuperiority, and ſtill more to preſerve their bodies in a capacity for labor, which, on account of the ſoftneſs of the climate and the heat of the ſeaſon, were ready to melt away in ſloth and debility. The prudent Phocæan, therefore, commanded them often to change their ſtations, habituating the ſailors to the labor of the oar, and the reſtraints of diſcipline, which he aſſured them would, by habit, become eaſy and agreeable. For ſeven days they cheerfully obeyed his commands: but, at length, the warmth of the ſeaſon rendered their exertions too great for their ſtrength. Diſtempers broke out in the fleet. The Greeks, always averſe to every ſhadow of abſolute authority, complained at firſt in ſecret murmurs, and afterwards in licentious clamors, of the intolerable

His regulations obſerved for a while;

but diſcontinued.

CHAP. VIII.

hardships to which they were exposed by the severity of an insolent Phocæan, who, though he brought only three ships to the common defence, had assumed an arbitrary direction in all their affairs. Governed by these sentiments, they refused any longer to obey his commands, landed on the shore of Ladé, formed a camp in the island, and, sitting under the shade of their tents, disdained the useful labors to which they had hitherto submitted.

The Greeks defeated in a sea-fight

The Samians, who saw and dreaded the consequence of this general disorder, privately accepted the proposal which had been made them by the Persians. Their perfidy brought destruction on the common cause; for in the engagement, which followed soon after, they hoisted sail and deserted the line. The Lesbians followed their example. Among those, however, who obtained signal honor, by adhering to the cause of Greece, were eleven captains of Samian vessels, who detested the treachery of their companions, and despised the signs of their admirals; on which account they were rewarded, at their return, by the community of Samos, with a pillar and inscription, transmitting their names, with immortal renown, to posterity. But of all the Greeks, the Chians acquired greatest glory on that memorable day: notwithstanding their inferior strength, they defended themselves to the last extremity, and rendered the victory late and dear to the Persians.

Miletus taken.

The naval defeat was soon followed by the taking of Miletus, which surrendered in the sixth year

CHAP. VIII.

from the commencement of the revolt. The Perſians made good the threats which they had denounced againſt the obſtinacy of their enemies. Samos alone, at the price of its perfidy, obtained the ſafety of its houſes and temples. Thoſe of all the other communities were burnt to the ground. The women and children were dragged into captivity. Such of the Mileſian citizens as eſcaped not by flight, were either put to the ſword, or carried into the heart of Aſia, and finally ſettled in the territory of Ampé, near the mouth of the Tygris. In other places, men of a timid or melancholy complexion continued to brood over the ruins of their ancient ſeats. The more enterpriſing ſailed to Greece, to the coaſt of Italy and Sicily, and to the Greek colonies in Africa. Probably not a few betook themſelves to piracy, among whom was Dionyſius the Phocæan, who plundered the Tuſcan and Carthaginian veſſels, always ſparing the Grecian. The Perſian fleet wintered at Miletus, and next ſpring ſubdued the iſlands of Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos[*]. Thus were the Aſiatic Greeks conquered for the third time, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Perſians.

Olymp. lxxi. 3. A. C. 494. Diſperſion of the Greeks, and deſolation of their country.

But notwithſtanding theſe repeated ſhocks, which ſubjected the inhabitants of Ionia to ſuch dreadful calamities, that delightful country ſoon recovered its ancient populouſneſs and ſplendor. The Perſian government, having ſufficiently puniſhed the rebellion, began gradually to relent. The Ionians

Ionia begins to flouriſh under the Perſian government.

[*] Herodot. l. vi. c. xxxi. et ſeq.

CHAP. VIII. became an object of care and protection to Darius. Useful regulations were made for maintaining the public peace, as well as for securing the lives and properties of individuals. The face of the country began once more to smile; the cities, being built of slight materials, were easily repaired, while the exuberant fertility of the soil, the attractive beauties of the prospect, the charms of the climate, and the convenience of the harbours (an advantage of which the Persians knew not to avail themselves), speedily collected the Greeks into their ancient habitations. Even those places which had been deserted or destroyed, emerged from the gloom of desolation, and assumed the cheerful appearance of industrious activity. And such was the attachment of the Greeks to their native land, and such their ambition to adorn it, that the labor of a few years repaired the destructive ravages of the Barbarians.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM